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Daily Report
Central Eurasia

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Calls for CIS Economic Integration Intensify

95P50036

[FBIS Media Note] Although the meeting of the presidents of the Commonwealth countries did not take place in December as had been planned, a flurry of newspaper articles both before and after the scheduled date indicated renewed interest in the idea of CIS economic integration.

At their 12 December meeting in Minsk, which marked the third anniversary of the beginning of economic reform, the industrialists and entrepreneurs of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine appealed to the leaders of their respective states to "decisively hasten economic integration." Their appeal, published in the 19-25 December issue of DELOVOY MIR (and on 30 December in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA), was accompanied by two other documents: "Agreement on cooperation between the Belarusian Scientific-Industrial Association, the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs in organizational, legal and economic guarantees of integration processes for creating transnational financial-industrial associations (groups);" and "Treaty on Cooperation between the Belarusian Scientific-Industrial Association (BNPA), the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (RSPP) and the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (USPP)."

In their appeal, the members of the above-mentioned groups stated that they were "profoundly convinced of the need for true economic reintegration," and they outlined what they saw as priority tasks. These included accelerating the development of Belarusian-Russian-Ukrainian cooperation with an appeal to Kazakhstan "to support this cooperation with its own mighty potential." The industrialists also called for coordinated measures to overcome the payments crisis and a trilateral agreement for developing joint production, scientific-technical, investment and commercial activity. The businessmen concluded their appeal by stating their intention to step up coordination of their actions and "to influence more strongly the harmonization of the concepts and practices of economic reforms in their states."

Businessmen were not the only people interested in economic integration. Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbeyev added his voice to the call for reintegration. In a 30 December interview with IZVESTIYA, he stated that "we are clearly standing on the threshold of a wave of integration," and added that "Russia's role and place in the new geopolitical area have begun to be reassessed." In Nazarbayev's opinion, Russia was rethinking its former policy of isolation, "understanding that this will cause political and economic harm most of all to Russia itself."

Petru Lucinschi, chairman of the Moldovan parliament, expressed his opinion on reintegration in a 30 December article in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. He stated that "the movement of the CIS countries toward unity is inevitable." He emphasized that any reintegration had to occur "on a new basis," and reminded readers that this had to take place "without interfering with this objective process, without hindering it to any degree, without forcing it." In Lucinschi's view, working within the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly would be the best way to achieve integration.

Not everyone was in favor of the renewed attempts at integration. In his 15 December SEGODNYA column devoted to the previous week's meeting of CIS government heads, Aleksandr Bekker reminded his readers that the previously signed agreement on monetary union between Russia and Belarus was quietly buried by Chernomyrdin and Gerashchenko." In Bekker's opinion, "a full-fledged economic union of the CIS is impossible at this time." The 38 agreements on trade and economic cooperation signed at the meeting were beneficial, according to Bekker, but "in 10-15 years we will really begin to unify ourselves."

Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka also expressed a negative view toward economic integration. As Valentin Zhdanko reported in the 10 January issue of SEGODNYA, the Russian Duma proposal on a joint sitting of the two countries' parliaments "has not met with any sizable response in official circles in Minsk." Zhdanko reports that President Lukashenka told him "he has no intention of interfering or influencing the situation" and added that the Belarusian president "would welcome a joint session of the parliamentarians, even if the main subject of discussion should be the problem of unification of the two countries." However, as Zhdanko reported, the president "simultaneously remarked that unification of the countries at this stage is unrealistic."

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 21 Jan

LD2101060395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0542 GMT 21 Jan 95

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The press continues to highlight the development of the situation in the Chechen republic and around it.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA frontpage a statement of President Yeltsin, in which he informed Russian citizens and the world community that a military stage of the restoration of the Russian Constitution in the Chechen republic is practically over. Now the Interior Ministry will take over the fulfilment of the mission of the restoration of order and civil rights of the population.

It is pointed out that the Russian flag has been hoisted over the city of Groznyy, which, according to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, symbolizes the fact that Russia is confirming its sovereignty over part of its own territory. The newspaper carries an interview with director of the

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Federal Counterintelligence Service Sergey Stepashin. In his opinion, there will be no guerrilla war after the end of combat operations in Chechnya, because the only dream of its residents is normal life. Stepashin admitted that the "information war" had been lost even before the federal troops had been moved to Chechnya. We were not ready for the ideological and propaganda work, he said.

ROSSIYSKYIE VESTI publishes an interview with Major General Ibragim Suleymanov, who was under arrest for almost a year in Chechnya, his home land, because of the difference of opinion between him and Dudayev, and was set free by Russian troops. He described as "bluff" the reports about massive popular support for Dudayev and about his heroism. According to Suleymanov, Dudayev's paid agents are the only ones fighting on his side.

IZVESTIYA writes that although Moscow announced the end of the military stage of the Chechen operation, fighting is going on in Groznyy. According to the newspaper, Russian generals are going to develop the military success and are definitely in no mood for any kind of armistice. The newspaper carries an article, entitled "The Burden of Being Russia's Neighbour". It says that, on the one hand, Russia has become more open in its relations with neighbouring countries, but, on the other hand, Norway finds it difficult to protect itself from "the effluents of harmful chemical substances into the atmosphere by Russian enterprises." The article will be continued in other issues of the newspaper.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries a "sensational statement", made in an interview with its correspondent by Major General Igor Kochubey, former KGB chief of Checheno-Ingushetia. According to Kochybey, 50 per cent of Russian armaments were turned over to Dudayev on the instruction of former Russian Defence Minister Shaposhnikov, which was sanctioned by Yegor Gaydar, who was head of the Russian Government at that time.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA highlights the words of Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, that Russians have lost 5,000 trillion roubles as a result of privatization. In other words, we should have made 6,000 trillion roubles, but actually made only one trillion, he writes. His article on this subject is entitled "We Have Been Robbed 6,000 Times". luzhkov said it at a recent session of the Moscow government.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSYA and PRAVDA highlight reports about the opening in Moscow today of the third congress of the communist party of the Russian Federation. It is pointed out that the congress is timed to coincide with the Lenin commemoration day.

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U.S. Supporting 'Reformist Forces' Despite Chechnya War

MM2001125395 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20-23 Jan 95 p 3

[Report by Yelena Ovcharenko: "It Is Easy To Breathe on the Shores of Lake Geneva"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "If things are bad in a country, you have to go to neutral areas." A popular saying. That is precisely what our esteemed Andrey Vladimirovich, the new Russia's "number one diplomat," has done. Well it is easy to breathe on the shores of Lake Geneva! That is where he has traditionally met his partner Warren Christopher. And they have discussed extremely pressing problems for present-day Russia: the settlement of... the Near East conflict, the peace process... in Europe. But what about Chechnya, what about the pressure on Moscow, growing not by the day but by the hour? Russian diplomats bashfully keep quiet about that. No, restoring order, constitutional order included, is indeed the internal affair of every state, but as for the methods.... That is where internal affairs end and international problems begin. Christopher was extremely frank: The question of Chechnya had been discussed in an extremely detailed fashion although, as he routinely noted during an interview with THE WASHINGTON TIMES, it is important for the United States to continue to support reforms and reformist forces in Russia.

Who would dispute the view that support is necessary. But who precisely is to be supported? Meanwhile the concern in the West is growing. It is no coincidence that prominent Americans are rushing to reassure their voters, whose opinion, unlike our leaders, is extremely worrying for them. "The Russians are maintaining tight control over nuclear weapons both from the viewpoint of their physical safety and when it comes to their command and control." General James Clapper, director of the U.S. Defense Department's Defense Intelligence Agency and a person of some import, made this confident statement during U.S. Congressional hearings. I would like to believe it. But they can see better from the outside, so to speak.

Politics is politics. And money is money. And it is no coincidence that a very impressive delegation from the IMF has come to see us, now that the already dilapidated sails of the Russian economy have begun to fall apart under the onslaught of the winds or war. As usual it all took place in an atmosphere of the strictest secrecy, "behind closed doors." One thing we do know:: It is a question of six billion "greenbacks" for Moscow. But will they be given "in exchange for Chechnya"?

And here is another piece of very pleasant news. For some people. A world first. The esteemed Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy] has given an interview to PLAYBOY, so ITAR-TASS reports. This is the first time that a Russian politician has appeared in such a respected publication. He will show them! Are there going to be photographs appended?

Yeltsin, Kazakhstan's Nazarbayev Sign 17 Agreements

LD2001132695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1239 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Akimov and Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Russia and Kazakhstan signed 17 agreements on Friday [20 January] after a meeting of the presidents of both countries.

The documents include a declaration on promoting bilateral cooperation, two agreements on issues of citizenship, as well as an agreement on military-technical cooperation, on a customs union, on free trade and other economic documents.

"A major step forward", Russian President Boris Yeltsin said commenting on the signed agreements and adding that the documents will contribute to a considerable progress in bilateral relations.

"A year ago we were not ready for their signing, but today we made the important step", Yeltsin said and stressed that the agreements on citizenship "will calm down Russians in Kazakhstan and Kazakhs living in Russia".

Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev said that after his one-to-one meeting with the Yeltsin Russia and Kazakhstan "reached a new level of relations".

Yeltsin: Talks 'Major Step Forward'

LD2001171795 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1538 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] And now we can fulfill our promise given by Mayak commentator Yuliy Semenov at the very beginning of the panorama, the promise to acquaint you with the assessments given by the Russian and Kazakhstan presidents to their meeting today.

Here is what Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev said:

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] The fact is we certainly had good bilateral ties and cooperated in many fields but there were insufficent integration processes between our two states. And now we have made a major step forward as far as the integration of the two states is concerned.

Seventeen documents were signed at government level and by the two presidents. The most important documents, we have been moving toward them for a long time. We could not sign them a year ago. We were not ready. And today we are ready and we are signing them easily because we know it is realistic for our two countries to implement them.

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I am confident the documents we signed today will significantly move our relations forward and, inter alia, calm down the Russians who live in Kazakhstan and the Kazakhs who live in Russia because finally we signed an agreement on citizenship.

[Nazarbayev] There are three things. I attach primary importance to the political treaty which simplifies getting citizenship for the citizens of our states. This treaty underlines our special relations.

Second, the payments [platezhnyy] union. We in fact are setting up a single customs space, a free movement of cargoes, exemption from duties and taxes and an introduction on the territory of each state a free movement of each other's cargoes.

Third, military issues. The four enormous test ranges used by the Soviet army in the past and now by Russia, in my view, are a real help by Kazakhstan to Russia which will not have to spend huge amounts to build new similar test ranges.

Therefore I would like to tell you that relations between Russia and Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan and Russia, have reached an entirely new level.

I have always regarded us as allies and now this aliance has become political, military, and economic. I hope today's initiative by Russia and Kazakhstan will be a good example for all CIS countries. I am glad that after the agreements we reached today the Eurasian Union has now started being implemented in practice. [end recording]

You have heard the statements made by the Russian and Kazakhstan presidents, Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, in the Kremlin today. These were their main statements today.

Russia, Kazakhstan Agree To Merge Armed Forces

LD2001155495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (INTERFAX)—Russia and Kazakhstan this year will start merging their armed forces, a Russo-Kazakh declaration says.

The scheme involves joint military planning and joint training and use of troops, says the declaration on measures to step up cooperation between the two former Soviet republics, issued after high-level bilateral talks.

According to the declaration, signed by the Russian and Kazakh presidents, Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, in the Kremlin on Friday, the two countries are also due to sign a treaty before February 10 to jointly protect the borders they have with states lying outside former Soviet territory.

Altogether the negotiations resulted in 17 accords, three of which were signed by the two presidents.

Nazarbayev, in an interview with Interfax, called the results of the talks a materialization of his Eurasian Union idea. Yeltsin, for his part, said such agreements would have been "inconceivable" even a year ago.

The documents signed by the presidents include a treaty on the legal status of Russian citizens living in Kazakhstan and Kazakh citizens living in Russia and an agreement to simplify formalities for giving Russian citizenship to Kazakhs and Kazakh citizenship to Russians.

The Russian and Kazakh prime ministers, Viktor Chernomyrdin and Akezhan Kazhegeldin, signed agreements on terms for the use by Russia of several military facilities in Kazakhstan and on the status of Russian troops stationed in the Central Asian republic, documents which Nazarbayev described as "assistance from Kazakhstan to Russia, because Russia now won't have to allocate funds for the creation of such facilities on its own territory."

The premiers also signed agreements to form a customs union, introduce uniform regulations for the two countries' foreign economic activity, take measures to stabilize the Kazakh and Russian currencies, ensure their mutual convertibility and others.

Yeltsin aide Dmitriy Ryurikov told Interfax the customs union accord had also been signed by Belarus's ambassador in Moscow since Russia has a similar agreement with Belarus.

Declaration Increasing Cooperation With Kazakhstan Viewed

LD2001164595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1510 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Akimov and Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—Russia's President Yeltsin described the package of 17 bilateral accords signed in the Kremlin today as "a major step forward" along the path of the integration of Russia and Kazakhstan. Among them the declaration on widening and deepening Russo-Kazakhstan cooperation is a key one.

"Russo-Kazakhstan economic cooperation will be built on principles of free and nondiscriminate trade, the creation of a common market for commodities, services, capital and manpower, and also of close interaction in the production, investment and financial spheres," the declaration notes. The agreement on introducing a free trade regime between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan, while the customs territories of the two countries are joined, signed by the heads of the governments of the Russian Federation and the

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Republic of Kazakhstan, Viktor Chernomyrdin and Akezhan Qazhygeldin, is aimed at realizing this point.

Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed in the joint declaration that "measures will be taken to achieve coordination of foreign economic policy, including customs, and the lifting of tariff and nontariff restrictions." This will enable the intergovernmental agreement on a single procedure for regulating foreign economic activity, which was signed by V. Chernomyrdin and A. Qazhygeldin, to be translated into practical terms.

In order to ensure the continuous implementation of transactions between enterprises of the two states on the basis of mutual convertibility of currencies, the presidents instructed the central banks of the two countries to "adopt measures to expand and deepen domestic currency markets and cooperation in forming effective payments." An agreement on measures to ensure mutual convertibility and stabilization of the exchange rate of the Russian ruble and the Kazakh tenge should help to implement this task. Together with Viktor Chernomyrdin and Akezhan Qazhygeldin, the agreement was sealed with their signatures by Tatyana Paramonova, acting chairman of the Central Bank, and Daulet Sembayev, chairman of the National Bank of Kazakhstan.

The heads of Russia and Kazakhstan spoke in favor of "active participation of their countries in setting up a system of collective security for the CIS." The sides expressed their wish to interact within the framework of the general military strategic area in order to ensure their military and nuclear security." [quotation mark as received] The presidents agreed that "Russia and Kazakhstan will, in the future, operate on the principle that facilities and buildings situated on the territory of one country can be used by the armed forces of another" as well as "to use their defense potential in the interests of ensuring mutual security." The package of bilateral agreements in the sphere of military technical cooperation signed today opens a path to "setting up in 1995 joint armed forces on the principles of joint planning for the training and deployment of the forces."

The presidents stated in the declaration that "a treaty on the joint protection of their external borders will be signed by Russia and Kazakhstan by 10 February, under which a joint command of the border troops will be set up."

The presidents confirmed their adherence to "a policy aimed at close cooperation in foreign policy, coordination of standpoints on the major international and regional issues, as well as of their activities in the UN, OSCE, and other international organizations."

Replying to journalists' questions after the ceremony, Boris Yeltsin drew their attention to the two interstate documents on citizenship signed today, which will greatly simplify the procedure of receiving the citizens' status by the nationals of each of the two countries' permanently resident in the other country, and will also provide them with a clear-cut legal status. According to the Russian head of state, the documents "will reassure the Russians living in Kazakhstan and Kazakhs living in Russia."

Kozyrev, UN's Butrus-Ghali Discuss Chechen Situation

LD2101204295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2028 GMT 21 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva January 21 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev met with U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali in Geneva on Saturday to discuss a wide range of issues, including the situation in Chechnya, the Bosnian crisis and the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict.

During the almost 90-minute meeting at the Russian mission in the Geneva-based U.N. Headquarters, Kozyrev and Butrus-Ghali confirmed their determination to develop cooperation in the interests of democracy and peace. The U.N. chief described the talks as "constructive and positive."

Kozyrev reaffirmed that "President Yeltsin will take part in the summit meeting in Copenhagen on March 12." He pointed out that the summit devoted to social and economic problems will be one of the most important events to be held by the United Nations which marks its 50th anniversary this year. The meeting is expected to be attended by the heads of state and government of more than 120 countries.

During the talks, Kozyrev and Butrus-Ghali paid a good deal of attention to the situation in Chechnya, including the U.N. humanitarian operation in the region.

The U.N. secretary general offered assistance in organising democratic and free elections in Chechnya.

Kozyrev said that the U.N. could help restore some of the "democratic institutions that were destroyed by the so-called Dudayev regime," including local and central bodies of power. "The Chechen people will have in the end the opportunity to vote for their legitimate authority, which they never had under Dudayev because he is not legitimate."

Kozyrev and Butrus-Ghali also discussed the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and prospects for Bosnian settlement. The U.N. secretary general blasted the Croatian president's demand for the withdrawal of U.N. peacekeeping troops from the republic. He stressed that their withdrawal would be a catastrophe for the peace process.

Kozyrev Leaves for Talks With Germany Kinkel in Bern

LD2101094095 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev left Moscow for Bern this morning. He

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is expected to hold a working meeting tomorrow with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. Questions of the construction of a new Europe and the creation of a European security system, as well as bilateral relations, are expected to dominate. The sides intend to exchange opinions on problems of regulating the Chechen crisis.

Kinkel Reiterates Support for Reforms

LD2201175395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1730 GMT 22 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Rumyantsev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] St. Petersburg January 22 TASS—German Minister of Economics Gunter Rexrodt arrived in St. Petersburg on Sunday to attend the 4th session of the Russian-German Council for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation opening on Monday.

In an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS at St. Petersburg's Pulkovo-1 airport, Rexrodt said that "the changing situation in Chechnya is of course the criterion of our economic policy in relations with Russia."

"I will take the opportunity tomorrow to tell the joint economic council about our position in detail. On the other hand, we attach great importance to the continuity of our economic relations with Russia. Stabilisation in the country is crucial and we intend to develop economic cooperation between Germany and Russia," he said.

Back home, Rexrodt had to fight his opponents who demanded that he cancel his trip to Russia because of the Chechen crisis. However, the minister stressed that "I am going to St. Petersburg determined to confirm support for Russia's economic reform."

He opposed the idea of imposing economic sanctions on Russia over Chechen conflict, but warned that the question of sanctions may be raised if the situation in Chechnya worsens. "I am going to make it clear that the Russian Government, in light of its actions in Chechnya, may lose its authority in the eyes of the West as a partner in reforms and democracy in Russia," he added.

Rexrodt is being accompanied by a 50-person delegation, which includes politicians and industrialists from both western and eastern parts of Germany.

Kozyrev, Kinkel Committed To Cooperation

LD2201201495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1959 GMT 22 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bern January 22 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his German counterpart Klaus Kinkel reaffirmed their countries' commitment to a stable partnership and cooperation between Russia and Germany.

Kinkel who had talks with Kozyrev in Bern on Sunday stressed that while opposing the armed methods employed by Russia to restore constitutional order in Chechnya, the German Government does not question the need to support democratically elected President Boris Yeltsin.

Speaking at a joint news conference with his Russian counterpart, Kinkel pointed out that relations of partnership are not a one-day event. "We want to remain Russia's partner and friend," he added.

Kinkel said he had told Kozyrev that the German Government is deeply concerned about what is going on in Chechnya and urged that "the bloodshed in Chechnya must stop immediately."

At the same time, he noted that Germany is against imposing economic sanctions on Russia. A settlement should be reached within the framework of the Russian Constitution with some sort of autonomy for Chechnya within the Russian Federation, he added.

His colleague, Minister of Economics Guenther Rexrodt, who is in St. Petersburg to attend the 4th session of the Russian- German Council for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation opening on Monday, also opposed the idea of imposing economic sanctions on Russia over Chechen conflict, but warned that the question of sanctions may be raised if the situation in Chechnya worsens.

"I will take the opportunity tomorrow to tell the joint economic council about our position in detail. On the other hand, we attach great importance to the continuity of our economic relations with Russia. Stabilisation in the country is crucial and we intend to develop economic cooperation between Germany and Russia," he said.

"Once again, our partnership demonstrates maturity and ability to withstand trials," Kozyrev told journalists. He assured the questioners that "the democratic process (in Russia) in irreversible."

"Any attempts to put economic pressure on Russia will be counter- productive," he said. "Human rights are not an internal matter. That is why we listen very carefully to what our partners say. Russia is ready to cooperate with the mission of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which will go to Chechnya, and is grateful for international aid to the civilian victims of the conflict. The OSCE support could play an important role in restoring democratic institutions destroyed by the Dudayev regime," Kozyrev said.

He reminded the audience that the conflict settlement has moved from the military stage to the stage the main task of which is to restore such institutions in Chechnya.

On Saturday, Kozyrev had a 90-minute meeting with U.N. Secretary-General Butros Butros-Ghali who offered assistance in organising democratic and free elections in Chechnya.

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Kozyrev and Kinkel said that Russia and Germany continue to closely cooperate within the five-nation contact group on Bosnia. They expressed concern about the situation in Bosnia and emphasised that energetic steps to resume talks should be taken at once while the cease-fire agreement is in effect.

The ministers urged Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to reconsider his demand for the withdrawal of U.N. peace-keeping troops, warning that this would worsen the situation in Krajina.

Earlier in the day, Kozyrev meet with Swiss Foreign Minister Flavio Cotti. Meeting journalists after the talks, Kozyrev stressed that Russia is ready to discuss the Chechen problem with its friends and partners.

"In this respect, we welcome cooperation with the OSCE," Kozyrev said. He thanked the Swiss Government for humanitarian aid that it has sent to Chechnya through the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The minister also noted that Russia is looking forward to cooperation with an OSCE mission that will soon go to Chechnya.

Cotti told journalists that the Chechen crisis should be resolved by peaceful means in a fashion respectful of human rights and Russia's territorial integrity.

Speaking about Bosnia, Cotti voiced concern about the recent complications and stressed the need to continue the search for peace within the framework of the contact group.

Khazbulatov Says Army in 'Pitiful Condition'

AU2001211495 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 95 p 15

["Exclusive" interview with former Moscow coup leader Ruslan Khazbulatov by Bogoljub Lacmanovic in Moscow; date not given: "The Chechen Card—Yeltsin's Trump Card"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ruslan Khazbulatov received me in his large apartment in Moscow, 10 Schusev Street, a high rise building constructed some 20 years ago in the center of Moscow to meet the needs of the top Soviet party management, and in which Russian ministers and high politicians still live. This is why the building is well guarded. There is a reception desk at the entrance, where there is an elevator, and a policeman in civilian clothes watching out for suspicious-looking people on two monitors.

Ruslan Khazbulatov's five-room apartment occupies the whole of the sixth floor. When the building was constructed, the apartment was intended for the head of the Soviet state, Brezhnev, but he was not satisfied with the amenities, so he refused to move in. The apartment was empty until Ruslan Khazbulatov was appointed speaker of parliament, which is when he moved in with his wife, son, and daughter.

[Lacmanovic] Mr. Khazbulatov, you are a political opponent of Russian President Yeltsin, as well as of your compatriot General Dudayev, who has been fighting against Moscow for the independence of the Chechen people.

[Khazbulatov] Yeltsin unconstitutionally dissolved the Russian parliament and drove the deputies out of the Moscow White House with tank shells. General Dudayev has unlawfully taken over all power in Chechnya, where I was born. First he and his supporters dissolved the Supreme Council of the republic, and then he organized presidential elections in which only [figure illegible] percent of the electorate voted. I was against Gen. Dudayev, who has now become president of Chechnya by rigging the election results, even when I was head of the Russian parliament, because I knew that he was leading my people into a great tragedy.

[Lacmanovic] You claim that the majority of the Chechen people oppose Dudayev. Can you explain why such a large number of them took up arms to defend their independent state?

[Khazbulatov] It is true that even those who do not support Dudayev are now fighting against the Russian Army. However, my people have united against the barbaric military operation of the Russian Army, and not behind Dudayev. All the Caucasian peoples, including the Chechens, have an extremely strong sense of freedom. I knew that they would resist if Russian tanks and the army entered the Chechen Republic.

[Lacmanovic] Having left a Moscow prison last March, you stated that you would no longer be involved in politics and that you were going back to being a university professor. However, you went back to Chechnya last summer, where you became head of the opposition that was conducting a political fight against Dudayev.

[Khazbulatov] I was invited by many prominent representatives of Chechnya. At that time Dudayev's regime had led people to a disastrous point of poverty. With the declaration of the Chechen Republic the Russians, who were the specialists and the majority of the skilled workforce in Chechen industry, started to move out. The vast majority of the population has suffered a tremendous fall in their standard of living, and in the summer of 1993 the workers went on strike. The Groznyy city police joined the street demonstrations, so Dudayev ordered in tanks to scatter the demonstrators by force. Fifty people were killed.

[Lacmanovic] In Chechnya you founded a movement for the peaceful replacement of Dudayev.

[Khazbulatov] This movement was rapidly gaining in popularity, because criminal gangs had started to rule the country under Dudayev. As early as October last year our peace movement had the support of the majority of the population. Dudayev controlled only Groznyy and I am sure that he would have had to give up his position

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peacefully within a short time. However, the opposition group of the time—Salambek Haji and Umar Avtoruhanov's group—supported by Moscow, was given tanks, and, even though I opposed this, they started the unsuccessful assault on Groznyy. This was a premeditated provocation whose aim was to open the door for the Russian Army to get into the Chechen Republic.

[Lacmanovic] In a recent interview that you gave to Moscow Independent Television you implied that Yeltsin had decided to carry out military intervention because he was afraid that you would take over power in Groznyy.

[Khazbulatov] There are several reasons why Yeltsin decided in favor of a military adventure. The main one was that with the creation of a regional problem you get public attention off the difficult economic situation and thus prevent social unrest. Another reason was that the head of state wanted to strengthen his authority, which had been in question, through a small victory in war. Moreover, you should know that in Russia decisions are made by one person, around whom there are equal numbers of "doves" and "hawks," and the influence of the latter was decisive this time. Finally, there is an international aspect to the cause of the war. The world had to be shown that the Russian leadership was able to resolve any conflict at any price, and that it could employ the army and weapons if it so desired.

[Lacmanovic] However, it has been a month now that the Russian army has been waging a war in which it has not been very successful.

[Khazbulatov] The reason for this is that the army is in a pitiful condition. There are not enough professional soldiers. The soldiers waging the war in Chechnya are those who started their military service last autumn. The Army is incomplete. Even fewer conscripts will respond to the spring call-up.

[Lacmanovic] There is a great political argument in Moscow concerning who is responsible—Gaydar, Marshal Shaposhnikov, or Army General Pavel Grachev—for Soviet weapons being left to Gen. Dudayev in spring 1992. Who is really responsible?

[Khazbulatov] Immediately after Dudayev came to power in Groznyy, as head of the Russian parliament I demanded that weapons be pulled out of there. There were over 100 Russian tanks, several squadrons of fighter aircraft, and 70,000 automatic weapons in Chechnya. Following negotiations, it was decided that most of the weapons should be left there. Grachev could not make such decision without Yeltsin's consent, and neither could anyone else. This decision that the weapons be left confirms my belief that the "Chechen card" was saved to be the trump card, so that the president's power could be strengthened at the appropriate political moment.

[Lacmanovic] Russian democrats and liberals have demanded that Yeltsin resign, but the president's entourage has already spread the word that such a resignation would lead to the disintegration of the Russian Federation.

[Khazbulatov] If Yeltsin left the political scene, the state would not disintegrate. After all, Russia's statehood started to disintegrate precisely with Yeltsin's politics and the rule of force.

[Lacmanovic] What are the gravest consequences that the Chechen war will have on the Caucasus?

[Khazbulatov] Headed by their elites, Chechens and other Caucasian peoples have been oriented toward Moscow and Russia for the last two centuries. However, now that Moscow has made enemies out of the Chechens by dropping bombs on them and now that Groznyy will be conquered in the same way that Berlin was once conquered, I am sure that the intelligentsia of the Caucasian peoples will start to re-examine the correctness of their future orientation and tying the people to Russia.

[Lacmanovic] What would you suggest as a way out of the crisis?

[Khazbulatov] Free elections in Chechnya, under international control. However, I am afraid that Moscow will opt for the worst solution. A military protectorate over Chechnya will be established and a puppet government planted in Groznyy, which will not be accepted by the Chechen people or any other peoples in the Caucasus.

[Lacmanovic] If Moscow were to allow free, and, as you say, fair elections in Chechnya, would you be a candidate?

[Khazbulatov] I want to help my people as an independent arbitrator.

[Box, p 15]

An Incorrigible Russophile

Ruslan Khazbulatov's political career is closely tied to Russian President Yeltsin. When Yeltsin was elected president of the first democratically elected Russian parliament in summer 1990, he proposed that Khazbulatov, at the time a not very well known university professor, be his deputy, and, as a Chechen, he completed the "ethnic quota". When Yeltsin was elected the first president of Russia, with much pain and resistance on the part of Communist and nationalist deputies, he barely managed to "push through" the loyal Khazbulatov into his previous position of head of parliament. However, there was soon a dispute, which ended with the shelling of the Moscow White House and Khazbulatov's three-month incarceration, which ended last spring.

Despite the difficult experiences in his personal life and political career, Khazbulatov has remained an "incorrigible Russophile." He was born 53 years ago in Groznyy, and, like all Chechens, he was deported by Stalin to

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Kazakhstan in 1944, when he was two years old. His father "disappeared" during the deportation and his mother raised him by working in a kolkhoz near Almaty.

"Not even Stalin was so brutal toward the Chechen people during the deportation in 1944 as the Russian Army is at present," says Khazbulatov.

WTO Director Comments on Timing of Moscow's Membership

LD2101121795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1153 GMT 21 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Serov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Russia may join the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1996, WTO Director-General Peter Sutherland said at a press conference here today.

Responding to a question of ITAR-TASS, he expressed hope that the talks on Russia's joining WTO would advance quickly and would be successfully completed before the next conference of WTO ministers, which is scheduled for late 1996. Sutherland explained that this is actually a minimal period of time, because Russia submitted an application for entry a month ago, while "negotiations usually take about two years."

The head of the organisation which, according to experts' forecasts, will soon control some 90 per cent of world trade, was received by Boris Yeltsin during his visit to Moscow. He also met Viktor Chernomyrdin and Ivan Rybkin.

According to Sutherland, practically all of them spoke in favour of Russia's joining WTO as soon as possible. Russia and the rest of the world regard this problem as a priority one, he continued, because its solution will promote the domestic reform processes and the integration of a major part of the world economy into that very world economy.

In order to join WTO, the country should make concrete legal commitments, open its markets, liberalize trade in goods and services and protect intellectual property.

The WTO director general expressed confidence in a constructive approach of Russia's main partners to its joining WTO. We live in conditions of a global economy, he said. As a result of the collapse of the Iron Curtain, the development of technology, communication and a free movement of capital all over the world, the integration of economies of various countries has become a fact of life. Economy and trade will determine the prosperity of the world and the relations between nations in the next millenium. This is why Russia's joining of the world trade organisation as soon as possible is of tremendous importance, Sutherland said.

Admiral Says Black Sea Fleet Troops 'Will Go Where Ordered'

AU1801144795 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 17 Jan 95 pp 1,7

[Unattributed report: "The Fleet Has Not Been Divided. Yet the Owner Has Been Determined?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A battalion reinforced with tanks and mobile artillery installations has been formed within a Black Sea Fleet marines brigade. This battalion may be sent to Chechnya. However, in accordance with Ukrainian-Russian accords, the command of the Black Sea Fleet is subordinated to the presidents of Russia and Ukraine.

The command of the Black Sea Fleet has reacted to the statement by the Press Center of Ukraine's Navy about the rumors of possible involvement of the Fleet marines in Chechnya as interference in the affairs of the Black Sea Fleet.

The command of the Black Sea Fleet believes that Ukraine's Navy carried out "an unlawful political action, since Ukrainian legislation does not permit servicemen to engage in politics."

Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, called the statement by Ukraine's Navy a "blank shot" and pointed out that if the leadership of Russia and Ukraine adopt a corresponding decision, "the Black Sea Fleet will go where ordered and will do what needs to be done."

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Political Issues

Shumeyko on Role of Security Council in Russia

LD2001172095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1644 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The Russian Security Council should not "make decisions on operations issues. It is in the competence of executive power," Vladimir Shumeyko, Federation Council's speaker, told a news conference on Friday [20 January].

Asked about his views on the role of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, the speaker of the parliament's upper house and the newly appointed full member of the body in question said:

"One cannot consider the Security Council as an operations body for managing the troops. It should tackle global issues related to security of the Russian state—its integrity, economic and ecological security".

That is why the speakers of the upper and lower houses of the Federal Assembly (parliament) should be included in the Security Council. At present, a new law on the Security Council is being drawn up.

Soskovets Tipped as Replacement for Premier

MM2301114195 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 95 p 5

[Article by Irina Savvateyeva of IZVESTIYA Analytical Center: "Oleg Soskovets. Who Is He? Who Is Behind Him? Where Is He Taking Us?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Lately at every turn of political events one and the same almost shadowy figure absolutely inevitably turns up somewhere in the background. This is a striking figure, of above-average height, with restrained manners, a wary gaze and even more cautious, extremely infrequent speeches....

So, Oleg Nikolayevich Soskovets.

Let us venture to suggest that this first vice premier's real role in the Russian political arena is now much more significant than it would seem at first glance. [passage omitted]

Soskovets' rapid political rise is linked not with Yegor Gaydar's government but Viktor Chernomyrdin's cabinet. All in all the metamorphoses which this politician has undergone in the last two years sometimes seem quite surprising.

So he is apparently a man in Chernomyrdin's team, who is being used to curb the presidential team's pressure. Suddenly it emerges that, on the contrary, the president is using Soskovets to "curtail" the meteoric increase in the premier's political clout.

Finally—there's a turnup for the books—the astounded public finds Soskovets in the company of the president's entourage, which has started playing its own games....

But if we think about it, it is logical to assume that Mr. Soskovets has always played his own personal political game, using the increasing influence of this or that particular team for his own personal political interests.

It was extremely advantageous to hitch his wagon to Chernomyrdin throughout 1993: The premier methodically promoted the native of Almaty as a counterweight to the president's placemen in the government—Vice Premiers Oleg Lobov and Vladimir Shumeyko. In May 1993 Soskovets was appointed a Russian vice premier third in line after Shumeyko and Lobov. In July he replaced Shumeyko in the post of supervisor of the government Council for Industrial Policy. And he became the supervisor of the defense industry after Khizha's departure.

By September 1993 Lobov had been ousted from the government. At the beginning of 1994 the internal "oppositionists" of another ilk—Gaydar and Fedorov—were ousted too.

As a result of all these ups and downs, Soskovets achieved the position of No. 2 in the government at the end of February 1994. He stands in for Chernomyrdin during his absence and himself often chairs government sessions. He heads the commission for the operational management of the economy and the commission for nonpayments. He conducts talks on military-technical cooperation with foreign countries. He deals with questions of investment policy. He determines the procedure for allocating quotas to special exporters of oil. He "tackles questions" with striking miners. And with striking textile workers....

Suddenly everybody is starting to notice that this is already getting out of hand. He accompanied Yeltsin to Germany. He appeared instead of the president at Shannon. He greeted the British queen instead of the premier. He received a presidential instruction to impose order in the fuel and energy complex. Instead of that man Chernomyrdin again....

The preference given to Soskovets became especially clear after the "Black Tuesday" scandal. Thus, Oleg Nikolayevich's firm political establishment is taking place under the president's wing in a process of winning back certain positions from the premier himself.

But the course of recent events in the country is forcing analysts to consider completely unexpected scenarios associated with Oleg Soskovets' name.

Superficially there is an abrupt strengthening of the president's entourage and of the power structures. In a

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situation in which the political position of the president himself is becoming increasingly strained and the degree of his influence on the making of the most important decisions is becoming increasingly doubtful. (How indicative was the continued bombing of Groznyy following Yeltsin's repeated instructions to stop this bombing).

Given this scenario presidential aide Viktor Ilyushin and Aleksandr Korzhakov, chief of the president's personal bodyguard, who have already reached first place in a rating of the country's leading politicians but at the same time who still remain, strictly speaking, clerks and service personnel, not statesmen—so, given this scenario aides and bodyguards need a legitimate and fairly significant political figure with whose help they could guarantee their influence whatever the current president's future.

Obviously the coupling with Chernomyrdin did not work out, although the latter is the most suitable figure in this context (he is the one to whom the president can painlessly and legitimately hand over a considerable amount of political power; he is the one who could fulfill the president's duties completely legally for three months in an emergency situation). Strange as it may seem Chernomyrdin, former head of "Gazprom" and "marketeer by chance," proved to be more spiritually alien to the "powers-that-be [siloviki]" than Soskovets, with his background as a brilliant Soviet leader, with his mentality as a tough "state administrator," with his personal ambition. In addition Chernomyrdin has his own fairly well-coordinated team, in which room is unlikely to be found for current presidential aides.

It now seems most logical for the people who are banking on Soskovets to engineer a situation in the course of which Viktor Stepanovich's resignation and Oleg Nikolayevich's appointment in his place will become possible. There can be no doubt that this option could quite easily be approved in the Duma. Liberal Democratic Party of Russia supporters, communists, and agrarians will vote for Soskovets with the greatest of pleasure, and the "Women of Russia" are unlikely to resist the speeches of a tough, tall, broad-shouldered statesman.

The grounds for Chernomyrdin's resignation could be a collapsed budget, another "Black Tuesday," freezing northern cities, international financial organizations' refusal of aid to Russia.... Have there not already been attempts to quietly make mileage out of all these subjects?

But the best grounds are, of course, provided by Chechnya. Everything is ridiculously easy here. At the gravest and most difficult moment, when Russia's position in Chechnya becomes extremely unpopular both in the eyes of our own population and abroad, the premier will be made responsible for a "political solution to the conflict." At the same time—without asking the premier, of course—the bombing of Chechnya will be continued. This is a description not of a hypothetically possible development of the situation but of a present-day event. Observe: Simultaneously Soskovets is vanishing from direct and daily participation in the Chechen events and is going off to Ulyanovsk to discuss aviation construction problems. So that he appears clean and untainted at the right moment?

"Friendship" with hardline apparatchiks in Yeltsin's entourage is extremely advantageous to Oleg Nikolayevich himself. Apart from anything else, he simply does not have a personal team. His staff is purely technical. His entourage are technocrats, among whom there are not even any secondary political figures. Furthermore, generally Soskovets' political clout is to a considerable extent inferior to the political clout of Chernomyrdin, under whose banners the most heavyweight politicians could assemble given a certain set of circumstances.

In short, Soskovets and the team of experienced Kremlin courtiers are now complementing each other very successfully and to their mutual advantage. And knowledgeable people claim that the vice premier is by no means a pawn in this scenario. Rather, he is being given an honorary role as the team's ideologist. Incidentally, the press has already written that the idea of Korzhakov's letter about the need to restrict access to the oil pipeline was most likely stage-managed by Soskovets.

What next? In general the Korzhakov-Ilyushin-Soskovets alliance finds the current situation of political instability advantageous, and one in which they to a considerable extent remain masters of the situation. But it is quite obvious that this situation cannot be maintained for very long. An assessment of the president's reserve of political resilience is now becoming a matter that is completely accessible not only to a narrow circle of the initiated.

Thus, Soskovets' recent energetic elevation to the big political arena, like the possible prospects of his further political rise, is most likely more correctly linked with real and possible future covert moves by the apparatus. The brilliant political flowering of this figure can hardly be expected in the near future, provided that legitimate nationwide elections of representatives of supreme echelons of power are held.

Meanwhile, in our troubled transitional period politicians in Russia rise and fall just as unexpectedly and suddenly as a particular policy unexpectedly and suddenly fades into obscurity, a policy that is in turn predetermined by the most unexpected combinations and contradictory interests.

Communist Party Third Congress Opens in Moscow

LD2101105895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0800 GMT 21 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 21 Jan—Adopting the Communist Party's new program and determining its tactics and strategy at the present stage are the main tasks of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which opened in Moscow today. The accountability report of the central executive committee, which Gennadiy Zyuganov delivered to the 360 delegates, contained no political surprises. As usual, he gave a negative assessment of the present situation in the country, describing it with such expressions as "genocide," "complete lawlessness and complete chaos in the system of real power," and exacerbation of social problems.

Zyuganov listed as his allies the "organizations of social, patriotic, centrist, and consistently democratic leanings." Aims that communists hold in common with them should be, in his view, "the protection of Russia's state integrity and the unity of the Russian people," which "dictated the need for a voluntary reunification of a unitary union state" and "the removal from power of the present antipopular regime."

The chairman of the central executive committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation reaffirmed the demand of the Communist Party that preterm presidential elections be held. The communists have gathered over 3 million votes in support of this. According to the leader of the Communist Party, the Russian president "should resign or agree to preterm elections." If this is not done, the communists threaten to campaign for a referendum on the issue of preterm elections.

The leader of the communists reaffirmed that, "while the present anti-people course is being maintained, there can be no question of the participation of the communists in the government." He recalled that after Valentin Kovalev, a member of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation faction in the State Duma, agreed to take the post of Russian minister of justice he had lost his membership in the faction.

The congress has now started a debate on the central executive committee report. Judging by the attitudes of many ordinary communists that were manifested, in particular, at the last central executive committee plenum, some criticism of the Communist Party's leader can be expected during the debate. Many orthodox communists reproach Zyuganov for his excessive adherence to great power and patriotic ideology to the detriment of socialist ideology.

Yeltsin Still Undecided on Polevanov's Future

LD2101201595 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] INTERFAX learned on Saturday from well-informed sources in the Kremlin that President Boris Yeltsin has not yet made a final decision with regard to Vladimir Polevanov, deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Committee for the Management of Federal Property.

At the same time, these sources also believe that Vladimir Polevanov may be offered a post of the head of the President's Control Directorate, which remains vacant since the appointment of Aleksey Ilyushenko to the post of the acting procurator general of Russia.

Observers believe that policies of the chairman of the State Committee for the Management of Federal Property have angered the president, First Deputy Prime Minister Chubays, who used to head that directorate, and other members of the government.

Sources at the State Committee for the Management of Federal Property think that Polevanov has annoyed others by his statements on possible nationalization of the aluminum and oil industries.

FCS Asks Officials To Report Contacts With Foreigners

MK2001141095 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 20 Jan 95 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Hold the Front Page!" rubric: "Officials To Be Informers as Part of Their Duties"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The times seem to be returning when the population was conditioned to see a spy and grafter in every foreigner.

MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS has come to learn from trustworthy sources that a number of Russian ministries have received from the FCS [Federal Counterintelligence Service] a special instruction regulating contacts with foreigners. The requirements today's civil servants are to conform with seem to be copied precisely from those developed in the 1930's. First of all, talks should be held in specially equipped rooms (that is to say, fitted out with recording equipment). The very fact of a meeting should be reported in advance to the corresponding FCS subdivision. As for the crowning piece of Russian-foreign cooperation, there should be a brief note on the discussion's contents which should be submitted to the same address.

Going back to their grandfathers' traditions, the authorities seem to be counting on killing two birds with one stone. On the one hand, to assign at last a full load of work to the FCS staff where the entire mass of officials' reports would head. On the other, to consolidate—even in such a forcible manner—the ranks of those who form the foundation of any self-respecting state system: informers and stool pigeons.

FCS Denies Crackdown on Contacts

LD2301134595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1324 GMT 23 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—The press service of the Russian Counterintelligence Service (FSK) [FCS] on Monday rejected media reports that a special instructive document had been allegedly

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released by the FSK to some ministries tightening up control over contacts with foreigners.

"The Federal Counterintelligence Service did not send such instructions to any ministry or agency," said a statement of the press service received by ITAR-TASS.

"It is strictly within the competence of the federal government to define measures to protect state secrets, as well as it is within the competence of agencies and organisations whose activities are associated with state or commercial secrets," the statement said.

However, the press service noted that it is a common practice for any respectable company, to say nothing about a state, to protect their secrets and introduce certain regulations concerning contacts with foreigners for their personnel aware of state or commercial secrets.

Stankevich Views Latest Events in Groznyy

MS2001090295 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 20 Jan 95

[Interview with Sergey Stankevich, Duma Foreign Relations Committee by presenter Jon Snow; Stankevich in Moscow, Snow in the London studio; from the "Channel Four" newscast—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Snow] Mr Stankevich clearly Mr Yeltsin's propaganda machine is making this a very significant moment, do you share the view that the fall of the palace in Groznyy is significant?

[Stankevich] The flag of the Russian Federation is flying over the presidential palace in rebellious Groznyy, but we do not feel joy over the victory, we feel sad, because it is not the final act of the drummer. It looks like the two new wars are about to be started or intensified, one is the guerrilla war in the mountains or the Chechen republic, and another is a political battle in Moscow around the lessons of the Chechen war.

[Snow] Well let's look first at what happens in the Chechen republic. Do you think theres any prospect of some sort of talking process can now start, given that this symbolic building has fallen?

[Stankevich] Yes negotiations are started already and the only partners for these negotiations as it is seen from Moscow are local leaders at the levels of cities, towns and villages, they would like to live in peace and they already started their contacts with Russian officials.

[Snow] But however many local people they talk to the key figure is still alive and still a force?

[Stankevich] I cannot imagine any negotiations with Dudayev now, his regime should be removed and he cannot be talked with—unfortunately after all awful casualties he provoked by his policy.

[Snow] You have been quite critical of the Yeltsin endeavor in Chechnya, but even so you feel that no negotiation can occur with whats left of the rebel force?

[Stankevich] Yes I am rather critical about the means which were used during the Chechen appeasement, let us talk about this, but I see no possibility to talk with Dudayev, he is absolutely unreliable person, he is a fanatic. The only negotiations can be with him about giving up of arms, about his maybe fleeing to some other country.

Officials Accused of Distorting Chechnya Picture

LD2001115595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1136 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Russian Human Rights Commissioner Sergey Kovalev today accused Russian officials of "deliberately distoring the true picture of the events in Chechnya". He arrived from Nazran to Moscow on Thursday [19 January] to explain, as he said, "how the talks to stop the bloodshed were torpedoed".

Addressing the international forum, entitled "Fascism in a totalitarian and post-totalitarian society", which opened here today, Kovalev was unable to define the nature of the current political system in Russia. However, he said that one could not live in a system which, in his opinion, is governed by a "party of war".

According to Kovalev, "the super-task of the people who are now at the helm of power is to be suitable and pleasant to the man who is half a step above them on the hiearchic ladder". The human rights commissioner believes that everything that is now happening in Russia is also "a personal tragedy of Boris Yeltsin, who was unable to rally decent people in the presidential team in proper time".

Graves Found of 4,000 Executed by Dudayev Regime

AU2001154195 Paris AFP in English 1402 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (AFP)—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said here Friday [20 January] that the graves of over 4,000 people executed by the regime of Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev had been located in the Chechen capital of Grozny.

Chernomyrdin's press service said the premier made the claim during a meeting with Russian television and radio executives. Rumours of mass executions in Chechnya have been current for some time.

Dudayev, a former Soviet air force general, declared his country independent from Russia three years ago after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Russian troops have been fighting Dudayev's rebel forces for nearly six weeks in a bid to crush Chechnya's

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secession, and on Thursday captured the presidential palace in the Chechen capital of Grozny.

Chernomyrdin said the Russian authorities had made "many mistakes" arising out of the Chechen conflict, including its failure to publicise the fact that opponents of the Dudayev regime had been shot "on a massive scale."

Chernomyrdin Admits Operational Errors in Chechnya

LD2001154195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (INTERFAX)—There were "many mistakes made" during the military operation in Chechnya. Such an admission was made by Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin when he met with the leadership of the All-Russia State TV and Radio Company at his office in Moscow Friday [20 January].

In his opinion, "these errors are yet to be made sense of and analyzed." It was wrong, according to Chernomyrdin, that "prompt information measures did not cover the situation in Chechnya over the last three years when human rights have been violated in that North Caucasus Republic and opponents to the Dzhokhar Dudayev regime have been shot on a massive scale." Chernomyrdin claimed that the burial sites of over 4000 people, executed during Dudayev's rule, have been located in Groznyy.

'Unconfirmed' Report Says 443 Russian Servicemen Killed

LD2001172895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1658 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (INTERFAX)— According to unconfirmed information, a total of 443 Russian servicemen have been killed and about 2,000 wounded in Chechnya, a spokesman for the Russian Defense Ministry told Interfax Friday [20 January].

According to the officer, the land troops lost 228 servicemen, including 118 privates and sergeants, 102 officers and 8 warrant officers.

The North Caucasian military district suffered the heaviest casualties (117 servicemen). The Privolzhsky military district lost 37, Leningradsky - 33, Urals - 25, Siberian - 12 and Moscow - 4 servicemen.

About 1,000 land troops were wounded in the Chechnya operation.

A total of 194 paratroopers were killed, including 161 privates and sergeants, 27 officers and 6 warrant officers, and 682 wounded.

A total of 21 servicemen was killed and more than 100 wounded in the two marine battalions moved to Chechnya from the Northern and Baltic Fleets.

The spokesman remarked that the mentioned casualties included only identified bodies. About 100 unidentified bodies remained in Mozdok, North Ossetia, he added.

Today Interfax failed to obtain information as to the number of victims in the interior and special purpose police troops fighting in Chechnya.

Russian Flag on Presidential Palace 'Photomontage'

LD2001183095 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Unfortunately, no video footage has appeared yet of the Russian flag hoisted on the Presidential Palace in Groznyy. However, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI newspaper published a picture of the palace with a flag on it, and attributed it to REUTER. But a REUTER spokesman said that they did not have such a picture. According to the POSTFACTUM agency, the newspaper's editors said later that this was a photomontage, and that the attribution to REUTER was a mistake.

Grachev Says 'No Truce' Possible in Chechnya

LD2001230395 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2055 GMT 20 Jan 95

[From the "Nota Bene" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Journalists have had a meeting in Mozdok with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, Federal Counterintelligence Service head Sergey Stepashin, and Interior Minister Viktor Yerin [identifed by caption]. They were generous in their praise of the way the first stage of the military operation had been carried out, as a result of which the presidential palace in Groznyy was taken. Pavel Grachev said this about the actions and training of the young soldiers:

[Begin Grachev recording] These 18-year-olds, under the command of our magnificent officers and generals, having no advantage in manpower but with good knowledge, essentially got the better of professionals, of men 30 and 35 on the other side there, who already have experience and have gone through army service and through the hot spots.

These youths of 18 have been dying for Russia, and they have been dying with smiles on their faces. They deserve a monument, but they are being vilified instead.

There can be no truce—only an ultimatum, a white flag, an organized surrender of the weapons and equipment left there. Actually, the equipment there has virtually been put out of action. That is the only way, because no soldier or officer who has smelled gunpowder and seen the blood of his comrades would settle for anything else. Even I, the defense minister, do not have the right, even the moral right, to force them to give up and say, OK,

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everyone out, and finish the whole affair like that because the other side has proposed peace. [end recording]

No comment, as the saying goes. But I will add a note in the margin: If kitchen squabbles have replaced the traditional principle of unified command even in the Defense Ministry, one can boldly conclude that this time the attempt to blame the enemy for everything will go ahead. And it may go very far indeed.

Grachev Criticizes Opponents Kovalev, Yushenkov

LD2001210195 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 95

[A. Onosovskiy video report; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The role played by the army in strengthening the state system is without doubt great, and it would be improper to vilify a soldier who is carrying out his orders. However, it is unlikely that a greater concord could be achieved if we started looking for enemies and traitors among those who are openly opposed to the war in Chechnya. We will let you form your own opinion of the comments made by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev at a news conference in Mozdok.

[Begin recording] [A. Onosovskiy] At a news conference in Mozdok yesterday [19 January], after the report by Lieutenant General Kvashnin, commander of the group of federal troops in Chechnya, the minister of defense congratulated the officers on the completion of the first stage of the operation aimed at restoring constitutional order in Chechnya. At a news conference for reporters from the state television companies Pavel Grachev sharply criticized those who have been hindering the implementation of the combat task.

[Grachev] These 18-year-olds have been dying for Russia, and they have been dying with a smile on their faces. They deserve a monument, but instead they are being vilified. This deputy—I forget his name—Kovalev [Human Rights Commissioner Sergey Kovalev]—he is the scum of the earth, the real scum of the earth! He is an enemy of Russia: he has betrayed Russia. And yet they welcome him. This Yushenkov [Sergey Yushenkov, head of the State Duma Defense Committee], this vile little toad—I have no better name for him—is denigrating the very army which educated him and gave him his rank since, regrettably, he was made a colonel in the Russian Army by decree. And this disgusting toad is defending the scoundrels who want to mess up our country. Personally, I do not understand this. I am not saying that I am the only patriot of Russia. You have been in the trenches today where all of them are patriots, those who are 18, or 19, or 50. They are dying, privates and generals alike, but no one is leaving his position. [end recording]

General Kondratyev on Differences With Grachev

LD2001214895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1328 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 20 Jan—"No one has officialy removed me from the post of Russian deputy defense minister, and I am continuing to perform my official duties," Colonel General Georgiy Kondratyev said this today to the ITAR-TASS correspondent.

Recently there have been many reports to the effect that Georgiy Kondratyev would any day now be dismissed from his post. Under a new establishment structure introduced on 1 January Boris Gromov, Georgiy Kondratyev, and Valeriy Mironov are not among the deputy defense ministers.

"All of us are former military district commanders, have authority with the troops, are able to manage, and know what to do and how it should be done, and I am personally capable of performing in my post," Georgiy Kondratyev said.

Since 1992 he has been responsible for the creation and command of peacekeeping forces, which have proven his authority, including abroad.

In a talk with the ITAR-TASS correspondent, Georgiy Kondratyev noted that over the last three months "not one meeting of the Defense Ministry Collegium has been held, and all matters are being decided by Pavel Grachev's close circle." "It seems likely that the president has not been informed about the true state of affairs," the general noted.

Answering a question on the possible cause of the deterioration in his relations with the defense minister, Georgiy Kondratyev noted that he had expressed his disagreement with the methods and ways in which the operation in Chechnya was being conducted without preliminary preparation. The general considers that this kind of operation requires no less than a month of preparation.

Georgiy Kondratyev confirmed that in one of their conversations Pavel Grachev actually offered him the command of the troops in Chechnya. "I replied: If you want me to be in command, appoint me as commander of the North Caucasian Military District," Georgiy Kondratyev said.

Calls Grachev Situation 'Incomprehensible'

LD2101003495 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 95

[Interview with Deputy Defense Minister General Georgiy Kondratyev by an unidentified correspondent from the "Vremya" newscast; place and date not given—recorded]

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[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] A great deal has recently been said about the reorganization of the top echelon of the Armed Forces command, and first and foremost the dismissal of three deputy defense ministers, Boris Gromov, Valeriy Mironov and Georgiy Kondratyev. Is this really the case?

[Kondratyev] As of today, there have been no presidential edicts relieving me of my post, nor talks with Defense Minister Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev. I really don't understand where these reports come from, or why.

[Correspondent] It's because of the Chechen crisis.

[Kondratyev] As for the Chechen crisis, or the war in Chechnya, we, deputy defense ministers, were not privy to any decision that was taken to conduct such an operation. And when Pavel Sergeyevich invited me in and said the operation has to be commanded in the Chechen Republic, I said Pavel Sergeyevich, I'm ready. Appoint me commander of the North Caucasus military district. I shall assume the entire responsibility and am ready to command the operation. I could not go there on my own, without any administrative body, in the capacity of deputy defense minister, though. That was not done.

The media says that some edict or other was not carried out. There was no such edict at all, it does not exist today. And by virtue of these differences of opinion, three combat generals who fought in Afghanistan have become unwelcome, although there are no edicts at all, no orders. We are carrying out our duties, and continuing to do so. But other people have already been appointed to our posts, alongside us. This is quite incomprehensible, no one explains the situation.

Claims Grachev Practicing Nepotism

LD2001231895 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2055 GMT 20 Jan 95

[From the "Note Bene" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer Dmitriy Sychev] As we suggested yesterday, the theme of negotiations and party in-fighting has already given way today to the search for answers to the two currently most popular questions in Russia: Who is guilty, and what should be done with him? Everyone has joined in the search for the guilty, the Defense Ministry included. The Defense Ministry is being lavish with actual statements today, rather than rumors.

[Unidentified correspondent, over video of General Kondratyev giving interview to three journalists in his office, moving about and gesticulating excitedly] Colonel General Georgiy Kondratyev, Russian deputy defense Minister, summoned journalists today to describe the current situation in the Defense Ministry. As Georgiy Kondratyev told ITAR-TASS today, not only does Pavel Grachev rule the Defense Ministry in person, but he does not coordinate his actions with President Boris Yeltsin as commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

[Begin Kondratyev recording] We are not welcome here in Ministry of Defense—the collegium has not met for three months now! For three months it has been replaced by the narrow circle of the defense minister's close aides—General Lapshin—Lapshev, I mean, Ivanov [not further identified], and of course Yelena Aleksandrovna \gapova. Those are the ones who decide everything in the Armed Forces today! Personnel issues, too! The defense minister today does everything he wants, appointing his relatives and friends to specific posts.

[Correspondent] Touching on the situation in Chechnya, he gave an extremely negative evaluation of the preparations for the military actions carried out there.

[Begin Kondratyev recording] In the first place, this operation was planned at an extremely low level. The planning of the operation was entrusted to people who had never planned an operation before. [end recording]

'Itogi' Interviews Officials on Chechnya

LD2201230695 Moscow NTV in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 95

[From the "Itogi" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As "Itogi" predicted recently, the military operation in Chechnya has exacerbated the situation in the Armed Forces, as evidenced—among other things—by the reshuffle at the top of the Defense Ministry and the changes in the ranks of generals. Aleksandr Gerasimov has the details.

[Gerasimov] Six weeks of war in Chechnya have demonstrated that the Russian Army is absolutely on a par with the situation in the country as a whole. Society has grown accustomed to bulletins from the front and to regarding events in Groznyy as an integral part of life.

The Army is gradually coming around after a series of unsuccessful assaults on the city with huge losses and after a change of those commanding the operation and refusals to carry out orders. Methods have been worked out for fighting according to Chechen rules; supplies for the troops and medical support have been organized.

The generals, just like the Kremlin politicians, have started to look for the culprits. [passage omitted]

Divided by a wall of personal enmity, the professionals have started a propaganda campaign to brainwash Armed Forces personnel before the Chechen war has even ended. It is quite obvious that it is hardly likely that people who have accused one another of cowardice and ineptitude will be able to work alongside one another within the walls of the Defense Ministry after the war. However, each of them probably hopes his own career will not end abruptly. Everyone forms his own image

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according to the same scheme handed down in the General Staff Academy, namely by appealing to patriotism. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording of General Boris Gromov, Russian deputy defense minister] Of course, things are difficult for the Armed Forces, just as things are difficult for the country as a whole. There are undoubtedly masses of problems, both objective and subjective problems. We have witnessed this so-called operation in Chechnya, bungled perhaps. Well, in fact, it was certainly bungled in terms of how it was prepared, planned, carried out, and managed. The events in Chechnya, however, should not be equated with the state of our Armed Forces, of course. If we can indeed speak of the ineptitude of a number of commanders who prepared and conducted the operation, that does not mean that all the other indices are bad. We know that the absolute majority of men and officers performed well—performed well as servicemen, as men who carried out orders to the letter. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Gerasimov] Meanwhile, the battlefield in Chechnya is gradually moving toward the mountains. The Russian Army is in for a partisan war, it seems. [Deputy Defense Minister General] Georgiy Kondratyev, who has a great deal of experience from Afghanistan, believes we will have to fight for a very long time yet.

[Begin Kondratyev recording] The situation is indeed serious. Whether they have taken the palace or not, I do not know for sure. That is no victory. It is a sacrilege to raise the flag over Dudayev's palace; after all, it is not the Reichstag. As a professional soldier, I well understand that it is not just armed gangs that are fighting; it is the Chechen people. The men have taken up arms; they are fighting for their homes and their land and for the graves of their forefathers who are buried there. The situation will clearly be difficult. [end recording]

[Gerasimov] These difficulties probably do not frighten the generals in the field. Federal Counterintelligence Service Director Sergey Stepashin envisaged the following scenario:

[Begin Stepashin recording] [Words indistinct] Pavel Sergeyevich [Grachev], Viktor Fedo ovich [Yerin], and I are today cutting off all moves and all the bases that Dudayev has been setting up in the mountains in the south. Pavel Sergeyevich, I think the winter will allow the tanks to operate at full capacity. The peacemongers in Moscow are hampering our defense minister, I believe. [end recording]

[Gerasimov] It is quite clear that the top military have diametrically opposed attitudes toward the Chechen war. On the one hand, for those who have recently been in opposition to the current defense minister, a lessening of tension promises additional stars on the shoulder straps. Grachev currently has more foes than friends, at all political levels. When the combat actions end, an investigation will start that could lead to a fundamental change in Defense Ministry personnel. This is probably the reason why efforts to establish a negotiating process with Dudayev's forces—which Prime Minister Chernomyrdin has repeatedly announced—have been foiled. On the other hand, prolonging the operation in Chechnya means the same stars on the shoulder straps, but this time for combat services. As the saying goes, no one judges the victors.

Government Press Service Reports on Chechen Situation

LD2101125495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1225 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—ITAR-TASS has received the following information from the press service of the Russian Government:

"According to a report received from the frontline team of the Russian Government's press service, federal troops continued combat operations in the central area of Groznyy during the past 24 hours. Troops of the Russian Interior Ministry took measures to block the main routes of movement of the scattered Dudayev combatants and bandit gangs. Russian Interior Ministry forces are exercising control over the Chechen administrative borders. All the vehicles and freight crossing it are being carefully checked to prevent the arrival in the republic of new bandit units, mercenaries, weapons, and technical facilities.

OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] units, backed by interior troops, carried out special operations to disarm Dudayev's fighters and to confiscate weapons in the area of the populated localities of Chervlennaya, Nikolayevskaya, Ishcherskaya, Osinovskaya, and Novy Sharoi.

A task team of the Russian Ministry for Emergency Situations has delivered by helicopters to Nazran 14 tonnes of food products and one tonne of medicines.

A plane was unloaded in Mozdok with the help of the Russian Ministry for Emergency Situations on January 20. It brought 3.5 tonnes of humanitarian aid and 6.5 tonnes of medicines for hospitals of the Ministry for Emergency Situations. The cargo was sent by the Russian fund for aiding Afghan war veterans.

As many as 300 refugees were evacuated from Groznyy on January 20 by the Russian Ministry for Emergency Situations. According to information received from the counter-intelligence, the unlawful bandit units are mining roads leading out of Groznyy and recruiting new militants.

The situation around the town of Gudermes has aggravated. Two groups of trained Dudayev militants, consisting of 25 men each, armed with anti-aircraft guns and anti-tank weapons, were sent there. The counter-intelligence also confirms the information that there is a

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gang of Afghan mojaheeds, weapons and food storages in the Kagalinskiy forest, near the Terek River.

According to information released by the Russian Federal Migration Service, 7,013 people, who were compelled to flee from their permanent places of residence in the Chechen Republic, had applied for help to territorial migration services on January 20. All in all, the territorial migration services have registered since December 8, 1994, 130,949 people, who were forced to flee from places of their permanent residence.

A network of primary reception stations and stationary centres for the temporary accommodation of refugees have been set up and are now working. They provide living facilities and meals for people who had to flee from Chechnya. They are provided with humanitarian aid there.

A contact telephone of the Russian Federal Migration Service will be available as of January 23, 1995, so that people could get information about those who have left their places of permanent in the Chechen Republic and have been registered by territorial migration services. The number of this telephone is 207-39-40. Calls can be put through from 10 to 16 hours every Monday and Friday."

Shumeyko on Future Chechen Government

LD2001131495 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Various aspects of the Chechen crisis were hotly debated yesterday at the sitting of the parliament's upper chamber, the Federation Council. After the sitting, our correspondent spoke with Vladimir Shumeyko, chairman of the chamber. They touched upon topical questions relating to restoration of legitimate power in the republic. In particular, organizing the work of the interim government until elections take place in Chechnya. This is what Vladimir Shumeyko had to say on the matter:

[Begin Shumeyko recording] We should try to make sure that this government is not appointed by Moscow, but comes from within the Chechen Republic itself. There is the diaspora here in Moscow; there are very responsible people among this diaspora. There are individuals who truly represent the Chechen people. Also, on the local level there are elders, and so on. I think the first thing Viktor Yerin [internal affairs minister] will do is to try, using the negotiation process, to appoint a government proposed by the Chechen people themselves through their legitimate representatives. Then we can calmly get on with organizing everyday life, set the time for elections and carry them through.

Another thing: As many inhabitants of the Chechen Republic as possible should return to the republic. Because when we start talking about elections, it will be preferable if all refugees have returned, without exception. It is better if elections are held with all the people present. All should return to their places.

[Correspondent] Will a state of emergency on the territory of Chechnya be introduced? This question was also asked at yesterday's sitting.

[Shumeyko] I think it is highly possible. Although one of the deputies suggested we adopt a straight resolution and put our proposals to the president, deputies voted against it. I understand why. Clearly, here one does not want to break with constitutional procedure. After all, the Federation Council retains the right to adopt or reject a presidential decree on introduction of the state of emergency. If the deputies were to write this resolution down, it would look like they had already adopted it without discussion. Introduction of the state of emergency provides legal basis for the actions to be taken by the internal troops. They need this special state of emergency to exercise their duties in dealing with emergency situations. [end recording]

Presidential Aide Satarov on Chechnya, Annual Message

LD2101135895 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1152 GMT 21 Jan 95

[Correspondent Mikhail Aleksandridi report; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Federal Assembly will receive the president's annual message between 9 and 15 February. This will include a separate section devoted to the Chechen crisis, Georgiy Satarov told journalists today. According to the presidential aide, Boris Yeltsin has no intention of diverting reform or reviewing his relations with any political party, and he has the people to support him in conducting state policy. Without ruling out a reshuffle following a careful analysis of Chechen events, Georgiy Satarov let it be understood that the federal authorities' plans do not include the creation of a puppet government in Groznyy.

[Begin Satarov recording] According to the plan that has been drafted and revealed to the public, it is expected that the government will be put together not in Moscow but in Chechnya, by the citizens of Chechnya themselves. Among other things, there was the idea of forming the government out of the Chechen part of the old Supreme Soviet of Checheno-Ingushetia, which was dissolved by Dudayev. [end recording]

[Aleksandridi] At the same time, Georgiy Satarov said that he is not one of those who believes the defeat of Dudayev's formations in Groznyy will be the final solution for the Chechen problem.

Shakhray Says Main Task 'Practically Fulfilled'

LD2201093595 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray has said the Defense Ministry forces

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have practically fulfilled their main task to defeat Dudayev's bandit formations. And now restoring the whole economic infrastructure in Chechnya and arranging food supplies to the population are being put forward as priority tasks.

'Radical Reform' of Power Departments Advocated

MM2301125395 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by Feliks Babitskiy: "Dismissals for Generals. That May Be the Outcome of the Chechen Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our troops have finally taken Dudayev's residence (what is left of it). More accurately, the bandits abandoned it to us as they retreated to new positions. Now we are indignant at the way in which the generals are killing our guys in the Caucasus and trying to work out why this is necessary. And the response is plain for everyone to see.

Let us conduct an experiment for clarity's sake. Suppose we instruct a militia captain "in our pay" to arrest the "top man." If he carries out the order he will bring the latter down upon himself. If he does not obey the order he will be "sunk" anyway. One solution remains—to conduct an operation involving as much hullabaloo and casualties as possible. Then the bosses and the public will see his professional zeal. And amid the hullabaloo the "top man" may be allowed to escape or be blown away before he can surrender.

Regrettably, what a militia captain can do, so can an army general. It is just the scale of the operation that differs. The Alfa and Vympel [special units] would have been enough to capture Dudayev. The whole Chechen people would have only thanked them. But instead of this the whole army (by strange coincidence, consisting primarily of new recruits, moreover) was ordered to enter Groznyy without opening fire and without responding to provocations. At the same time people forgot for some reason to warn them that the enemy's very real army was waiting for them in the city. What did you expect? After all, command of the operation was entrusted to those people who spent three years selling weapons to Dudayev on the sly. They have behind them the impenetrable rear services provided by the capital's bureaucracy, which spent three years granting the retired general oil export quotas and honoring forged remittance advices worth billions. The victory proved worthy of this host—a load of useless brick with the Russian flag fluttering over it.

What next?

First, the gradual cessation of hostilities. There is no longer any point in defending Groznyy and you cannot fight in the mountains in winter. We have already experienced that in Afghanistan, where the dushmans either made peace with the regime with the coming of the cold spell or left for Pakistan. The same thing is now happening in the Caucasus. However, it is regrettably the law of nature that spring will come all the same and Dudayev's guerrillas will be back with the first swallows. That is why it would be logical to pursue them now and drive them into the most inhospitable areas. But as long as the army is commanded by THESE generals, I do not expect them to do anything of the sort.

Second, it is quite obvious that they all lamented for our arms export contracts. If the best advertisement for military hardware is a victorious war, the assault on the Chechen capital is an exemplary piece of antiadvertising. In foreign military industrialists' place I would found a major Pyrrhic prize specially for Russia's generals. As for our military-industrial complex, which has lost a customer on the free market in the wake of the state order, it will indeed be expressing its sincere gratitude to Grachev and Co.

And the last result seems the most logical but regrettably the least likely. I am referring to the dismissals that our president should undertake as a result of everything that is happening. If he does not want his friends of yesteryear from "Russia's Choice" and "Yabloko" as well as the Communists to call him to account before the voters for somebody else's failed initiative to restore constitutional order in Chechnya, Boris Nikolayevich should now—"hot on the heels"—embark on radical reform of the power departments starting with the cadre issue. The present top brass are children of August-91, whose dramatic upward ascent began with encouragement for disobeying their superiors (the first case in our army's entire history). The president is promised more "victories" like this with these generals.

Soldiers' Mothers Appeal To End Chechen War

LD2001174995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1601 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (INTERFAX)—Representatives of the regional committees of soldiers' mothers and members of the State Duma's Women of Russia group have called for an end to the fighting in Chechnya and for the withdrawal of troops from there.

In an appeal they gave to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin Friday [20 January], the women demanded that government and military officials responsible for the conflict in Chechnya be punished for their mistakes.

"It is a shame that our army should be allowed to launch a military campaign which is not only badly trained and grossly undermanned, but also ill-clad and poorly fed," one woman said referring to her own impressions of a recent trip to the conflict zone.

For his part, Chernomyrdin said the main thing now was to finish the war followed by sorting out those who unleashed it. He added that those responsible for the military operation would also be dealt with.

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On faction leader Yekaterina Lyakhova's remark that parliament planned to raise the question of Defense Minister Pavel Grachev's incompetence, the Chernomyrdin said Grachev must finish his job there first. He added that enormous sums were spent on army needs and how it was used would be the subject of inquiries.

On the course of the military campaign in Chechnya, Chernomyrdin said "we have learnt nothing. It reminds one of 1941 when the people were told about smashing the enemy on its own territory."

He pledged government commitment to do everything possible to indemnify the victims of the Chechen fighting and provide relief benefit to bereaved families. He said that once the government had allowed this to happen, it must pay the cost.

However, Chernomyrdin was firm regarding the 600 army deserters saying they must be dealt with according to the law despite the women's demands not to do so.

'Remembrance Meeting' Held for Chechnya Victims

LD2201125295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1115 GMT 22 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—The democratic public of the Russian capital today honored the memory of those who have perished during the armed conflict in Chechnya. Several thousand people came to the remembrance meeting today in response to a call by Russia's Democratic Choice of Russia and the Memorial society. The meeting was held at the "Solovetskiy stone" monument erected in a square near the Polytechnical museum.

Sergey Kovalev, the Russian Federation human rights plenipotentiary, appealed at the meeting for the Russian federal authorities to stop the war in Chechnya. He said that the cessation of military actions would not require any money. Only good will is necessary to make this possible.

Yegor Gaydar spoke of the need to "halt the bloody adventure" and of his concern that "society is gradually getting used to bloodshed".

A requiem service for those who have perished in Chechnya was performed by Russian Orthodox and Muslim clergymen.

Poll on Russians' Attitudes to Chechnya Events

MM2001143495 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Jan 95 p 2

[Unattributed report on results of opinion poll conducted by Russian Socioeconomic Information Agency: "Russians on Events in Chechnya"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Socioeconomic Information Agency has conducted a sociological poll among Russians on their attitude toward the events in Chechnya. Depending on the questions, between 5,000 and 15,000 people participated, in 50 major Russian cities. Here are some of the results of the poll.

1. Are you concerned about the current situation in the Chechen Republic? (number of participants: 5,514)
Yes—91.98 percent
No—4.68 percent
Don't know—3.34 percent

2. What is your attitude to the introduction of Russian troops onto the territory of the Chechen Republic? (number of participants: 5,486)
I support it—30.68 percent
I do not support it—57.33 percent
Don't know—11.09 percent

3. Do you believe that the introduction of Russian troops into Chechnya is: (number of participants: 5,472)
A premature measure—6.21 percent
A timely measure—4.26 percent
Too late—44.44 percent
Inadmissible—33.77 percent
Don't know—11.31 percent

4. What, in your view, should the Russian Federation leadership do about Chechnya? (number of participants: 15,005)
Step up Russia's military operations in Chechnya—6.6 percent
Suspend military operations but leave the troops there—9.5 percent
Withdraw the troops from Chechnya—13.4 percent
Step up peace talks with Chechnya—23.1 percent
Discontinue peace talks with Chechnya—3.8 percent
Step up humanitarian aid to the Chechen population—8.2 percent
Discontinue humanitarian aid to the Chechen population—4.3 percent
Establish an economic blockade against Chechnya—10.2 percent
Don't know—21.5 percent

Military Issues

Suchkov Apppointed Black Sea Fleet Deputy Commander

LD2301123995 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] By a decree of the President of Russia, Vice-Admiral Gennadiy Suchkov has been appointed new First Deputy Commander of the Black Sea Fleet, the Main Staff of Russia's Navy told Interfax.

He will replace Vice-Admiral Vitaliy Larionov who is to be discharged to the reserves.

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Before he was appointed to his new post, Suchkov headed a Northern Fleet submarine squadron.

Federal Assembly

Yeltsin's Refusal To Testify Termed 'Disrespect'

LD2101225095 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in English 2200 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Russia's Federation Council believes that the refusal of President Boris Yeltsin and key ministers to take part in a session on ways out of the Chechen crisis could be described as disrespect for legislative bodies. According to the statement made by the Federation Council released on Saturday, such an attitude runs counter to the principles of democracy, discredits the executive branch and undermines Russia's authority.

Federation Council Moves to Limit Yeltsin's Rights on Army

LD2001130995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1233 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The upper chamber of the Russian Parliament—the Council of the Federation—believes it is necessary to limit the president's rights to resort to the use of the regular Army.

The Council today decided to submit to the State Duma a constitutional bill to amend Article 102 of the Russian Consitution, laying down the prerogatives of the Council of the Federation.

This article now stipulates specifically that the upper chamber is entitled "to decide the problem of using the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation beyond the borders of Russia".

The Chechen crisis has shown, the mps stated, that it is necessary to constitutionally lay down that the Armed Forces can be used inside the country only on agreement with the Council of the Federation.

It is difficult to say whether this provision will be included in the Constitution. The road to the adoption of constitutional amendments is long and thorny in Russia today: they must be backed by not less than two thirds of the members of both houses and must then be approved by the legislative bodies of not less than two thirds of the subjects of the Russian Federation.

Federation Council Appeals for Government's Cooperation

LD2001202195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1905 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (Interfax)—The Federation Council has appealed to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his government for "constructive cooperation with the Federal Assembly."

In its statement sent to Interfax Friday, the upper house of the Russian parliament regretted that Russia's top officials "neglected the invitation to a Federation Council session to discuss ways out of the Chechnya crisis" on January 18.

The Federation Council remarked that only constant cooperation of all branches of power "on the key issues of state life is capable of preserving Russia's integrity, stopping bloodshed and civil war in the Chechen republic."

State Duma Rejects 'Major Projections' of Federal Budget

LD2001152295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1456 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The State Duma rejected at its today's sitting major projections of the 1995 federal budget plan submitted by a conciliatory commission.

The projections are 240.5 trillion rouble spending, 167.3 trillion rouble revenues and a maximum budget deficit of 73.1 trillion roubles, or 30 percent of spending.

State Duma's budget, tax and finance committee was commissioned to refine the budget plan with account for criticism of deputies and put it up for scrutiny by a plenary Duma session on Wednesday.

Death Penalty Introduced for Members of Illegal Armed Units

LD2001153495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1455 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The Russian State Duma has introduced death penalty as possible punishment for members of illegal armed units. Today it adopted corresponding changes and additions to the Russian Criminal Code and the Criminal Code of Practice.

Organization of armed units not approved by federal laws and participation in them will be punished with an imprisonment of up to eight years with/without confiscation of property.

Deliberate actions, which made together with an illegal armed unit and entail large-scale violence, death or other severe damage, will be punished with capital punishment or an imprisonment from five to 15 years with confiscation of property.

The Duma noted that "a person who voluntarily quits an illegal armed unit and lays down arms shall be freed from criminal responsibility".

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Regional Affairs

Reportage, Commentary on Conflict in Chechnya

Little Changed Following Palace Seizure

MM2001165095 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by Boris Vinogradov: "Moscow Has Stated: Military Phase Is Over. Fighting in Groznyy Continues"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Yeltsin stated Thursday that the "military phase of the restoration of the Russian Constitution in the Chechen Republic is virtually over." At the same time, news agencies are reporting, stubborn fighting continued in Groznyy throughout Thursday and Friday.

With the taking of the presidential palace on Thursday the territorial demarcation of the city has hardly changed. The staff charts which I was shown by intelligence officers at General Lev Rokhlin's headquarters show clearly that Russian troops, in the shape of forces from the northern and western groupings, control approximately one-tenth of the Chechen capital. The rest, the headquarters staff said, is "untouched land" [neobrabotannoye prostranstvo].

This cannot be said to be entirely Dudayev's zone. No active combat operations have yet been conducted there. If there has been any destruction, it is not as noticeable as in the regions that the Army has passed through. From the north—Tolstoy-Yurt, from where Rokhlin's grouping advanced—to the very center there is not a single building left intact. On the map this was shown by a shaded wedge pointing at the left bank of the Sunzha River. A similar but smaller wedge penetrates the city from the west, where General Ivan Babichev's troops are located.

Following the successful storming of the palace the headquarters are being moved up closer to the center. The "northerners" have taken over the ruins of the former republic hospital, from where it is a stone's throw to the central square. Intelligence is claiming that Dudayev's bunker is also located in a medical establishment, but on the other side of the river. It is said that Spetsnaz [special forces] troops will soon begin an operation to capture it.

The city has not gotten any quieter. The short breather which the troops have had has not diminished the tension. Dudayev's snipers and mortars, moving from position to position, continue to launch tangible strikes against Russian positions. The reply takes the form of howitzer volleys.

Most of the officers I met were the remnants of the units and subunits that entered Groznyy on that memorable New Year's Eve night. Each of them has lost almost all his comrades-in-arms in the space of less than three weeks. They have been promised relief for 25 January, but few of them believe that this promise—the third so far—will be carried out.

You can sense anger, irritation, and a kind of terrifying excitement in their behavior. The desire to "deal with the Chechens" and kill them seems to outweigh their good judgment. Incidentally, nobody here is talking about common sense or reason any more. The period when "we started counting our wounds and our comrades" has gotten their nerves even more on edge and embittered people.

"I am the only one left from my platoon," a captain from Volgograd told me. "I will not leave here now until I can get revenge for my guys. I lived in the same house as them...."

Before the storming of the palace began, I heard how our Air Force had ordered all the ground forces to take cover as deep underground as possible and not come out. Even those who were not in the square but alongside it took cover. Hiding behind the ruins of the hospital, we saw Su-25's attacking the palace. Many of the servicemen, who know what all different kinds of explosive charges sound like, told me that they did not know what the bombers were using.

One would have thought the completely blockaded center gave those under siege no chance to escape. But, when the bombing stopped and the infantry went in, there was nobody in the palace. It is thought that Dudayev's men left at night, crossing the Sunzha and heading for northwest areas, spreading out in a narrow strip over tens of kilometers. Thus, some of them found themselves to the rear of the Russian troops.

It is hard to pinpoint their positions, the gunners complained. Mortars mounted on "KamAZ" trucks fire one salvo and immediately move to another area. They have learned to skillfully disorient fire spotters, often creating a "friendly fire" situation. Thus, on the eve of the taking of the palace a Russian "Grad" multiple rocket launcher fired on its own reconnaissance company in the airport region, which is ringed by mountains and forests.

The mercenaries left with them. The "gentlemen of fortune" consist mainly not of Afghan mojahedin and Arabs, but Russians. One of the Spetsnaz told me how he had personally finished off an officer from Stavropol after interrogating him. It turned out that the man had signed a three-month contract with the Dudayev forces for $1,200. According to the Spetsnaz man, the contract gave his home address and the names of his relatives, wife, and children. If he had left his position earlier than specified, all of those named on the list would have been murdered. That was the deal. People in the know reckon that the talk of "big money" and of $1,000 a day and money for each soldier killed was dreamed up by official propaganda.

The Chechens themselves told me that the gunmen have no shortage of arms or ammunition, which is reaching

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them from the southwest in amounts equivalent to those reaching the Russian Army. Where these weapons are coming from remains a mystery. Some believe that they are being drawn from the dumps left behind on Chechen territory after 1991. Others are sure that the supplies are coming from Russia itself via Ingushetia.

The Russian generals intend to build on their military success and are unequivocally opposed to any truce. The concentration of troops continues and the Army is taking up new fire positions. "We cannot permit a new mistake like we did during the 48-hour cease-fire, when they brought up fresh troops and it cost us a lot of lives," the military told me.

Dudayev Forces Using 'New' Tactics

LD2001154895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOZDOK, Jan 20 (Interfax)—In the new situation tied to the seizing of the presidential palace in Groznyy by Russian troops, Dzhokhar Dudayev armed detachments have virtually completely switched tactics to guerrilla warfare, a source in Mozdok, where the Russian military headquarters are, told Interfax on Friday.

He said that militants are often in uniforms of Russian army servicemen or of riot policemen. They are armed with grenade-launchers "Mukha", RPG-7, hand machine-guns and automatic guns.

Chechen militants exploded bridges across the Gerzel River near the town of Khasavyurt (Dagestan).

According to reconnaissance information, militants arriving in Gudermes (eastern Chechnya) are accommodated in the hostel of the town's teacher-training college and at the railway station.

Experts say that Dudayev's men use new tactical methods of street fighting. There are cases of mining corpses of Russian servicemen. When retreating from buildings they mine the entrances to them. To attract attention to the mined buildings, they lock pets in them.

Dudayev Claims Russia Plans Nuclear Strike

LD2001200795 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Jan 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today we received video recordings by international exchange of a news conference given by Dzhokhar Dudayev. In better times, the general's utterances suggested that he had a complex relationship with reality. Today Dudayev said the following.

[Begin Dudayev recording] The bandit group which has risen to the echelons of supreme power, or the party of war, is trying to commit a still more serious crime, making pre-emptive use of ground-based facilities and tactical or operational-tactical nuclear weapons, forming an encirclement and refusing to admit anyone from foreign states or the United Nations, the Security Council, the CSCE, or other organizations, to render the situation uncontrollable with a pre-emptive strike and enable mass nuclear weapons to be used against the whole world.

Never in the history of mankind has there been such a real threat of nuclear weapons being used as there is now. [end recording] [Video shows Dudayev in combat gear seated on sofa]

Shumeyko Cited on Personal Responsibility

LD2001193695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1701 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (INTERFAX)—Chairman of the Federation Council Vladimir Shumeyko told journalists in Moscow today that the decree introducing a state of emergency in Chechnya must begin only after heavy arms were seized from illegal armed formations.

"The president has more information than anybody else in the country and he will introduce the state of emergency as soon as the situation allows him to do it," Shumeyko said.

Shumeyko said "nobody has gained, only numerous problems have emerged as a result of events in Chechnya." Commenting on society's attitude towards politicians taking part in settling the Chechen crisis, Shumeyko said "if society saw politicians incapable of resolving the issue by peaceful methods, the attitude to them in democratic society should worsen."

Shumeyko stressed that he was always in favor of resolving the Chechen problem only by talks. "However, I did not participate in resolving the issue and did not have authority to hold talks either when I worked in the government or as chairman of the Federation Council," he added.

Shumeyko said that at the same time he felt "his responsibility for events in Chechnya and dissatisfaction with how the situation was and is developing at present."

Discharge of Thirteen Officers Sought

MM2001172495 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 95 p 1

[POSTFACTUM report: "Discharging 13 Pacific Fleet Officers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Pacific Fleet command has sent the Russian Defense Ministry an application for the discharge from the Armed Forces of 13 officers of the Marines who refused to carry out the order to go to the Chechen conflict zone, the Pacific Fleet Press Center reports.

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Those liable to be discharged include Yevgeniy Zhovtoripenko, commander of an assault battalion, whose action IZVESTIYA reported via POSTFACTUM on 14 January. The Pacific Fleet Press Center did not confirm reports concerning the criminal prosecution of officers and warrant officers.

Kostoyev Says Intervention Illegal

MK2001125095 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 95 p 1

[Interview with Issa Kostoyev, chairman of the Federation Council's Committee on Constitutional Legislation and Judicial and Legal Matters, by Svetlana Orlyuk: "Issa Kostoyev; place and date not given: 'The Dead Need Only One Right: To Be Buried'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kostoyev] Our committee has expressed its attitude to the events in the Chechen Republic on several occasions—proceeding from current legislation. We believe that the president's edict ordering the government to adopt a decree ("in the event that the rival groups, Dudayev, and others fail to lay down their arms, all the means at the disposal of the state shall be used...") is not based on legal norms.

When the edict was at the consideration stage, I said: If all the means at the disposal of the state are used to disarm what is described as "bandit formations" and restore "constitutional order," a war will break out. A real war. And so it happened.

[Orlyuk] Therefore military intervention in Chechnya and consequently all accusations against the military—from private to general—are illegal?

[Kostoyev] If the Chechen Republic is a federation subject, military intervention is illegal from the point of view of the Constitution and the Law on Defense.

If Chechnya is a sovereign state, this is downright aggression with all the ensuing consequences, including an international tribunal.

[Orlyuk] But Issa Magometovich, this is not the first instance of lawlessness with the use of the Armed Forces, which has led to victims....

[Kostoyev] No, in fall 1992 the entire might of the Russian Army was used in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, as a result of which dozens of settlements and tens of thousands of houses were destroyed, and 60,000 people became refugees: They are still in Ingushetia and cannot return to their homes. It is true that at the time, Savin, the interior troops commander in the conflict zone, refused to take part in the "operation" and had to resign. As a result, only the army was operating in the conflict zone—and, moreover, the well-known Pskov Division, the Tula Division, and also Alfa and Vympel: that is to say, special task units.

To date no one has been called to account for the thousands of dead, wounded, or banished from their homes, not to mention destruction and material damage.

[Orlyuk] Impunity, as is known, leads to total lawlessness. This time Grachev has apparently used his own 1992 experience?

[Kostoyev] The design in this case has been the same. But it is one thing to deal with an unarmed population within a day or two, and quite another to wage a prolonged war in which civilians, not "armed bandit formations," are being killed. I do not want such a restoration of my "constitutional rights."

[Orlyuk] Those about whom you are talking did not come to the Federation Council session....

[Kostoyev] I was sure they would not come. Although this is full contempt of the Constitution, laws, and the Federation Council. Under the noise of declarations that we are a state based on the rule of law, the executive structures are doing whatever they want, and get away with it.

[Orlyuk] What is there to hope for?

[Kostoyev] The problem cannot be solved by any decisions of the Federal Assembly houses. I hope for a serious reaction by the international public. Because "constitutional legality" can be "restored" by other methods, without victims, blood, and war. Such precedents are known in world practice.

And now.... The dead need only one right: to be buried.

Government Report Says Situation 'Complex'

LD2101151295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1333 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—The following information report was received by ITAR-TASS today from the Russian Government press service:

"Over the past 24 hours, the situation in Chechnya and its capital has remained complex. Since the liberation of the "presidential palace" by Russian troops the tension of the situation in the center of Groznyy has somewhat eased. Continuing defensive fighting, Dudayev's illegal armed formations have left the center of the town and moved off to previously prepared positions in the east and southeast parts of the town of Groznyy. Separate groups of home guards are arriving in Groznyy to assist them.

"The Chernorechye district of Groznyy, which has not been touched by combat actions, is being used by the illegal armed formations for the storage of weapons and ammunition, the resting of personnel and the regrouping of forces.

"Some of the bandit formations that have been defending the capital of the Chechen Republic are moving off in the direction of the inhabited localities of

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Serzhen-Yurt, Vedeno, Bamut, and Arshty. Dudayev's men are creating strongholds in mountainous parts of Chechnya. A concentration of up to 1,000 fighters has been noted in the inhabited locality of Chernorechye and also at a site that belonged in the past to two Chemical Works dispensaries and at the location of a former military unit.

"The tactics being employed by the bandit formations are changing. They now boil down to laying ambushes, using small groups to fire on and attack small subunits of federal troops and mining roads and paths. The fighters have been set the task of hampering in every way the movement of Russian columns towards Groznyy.

"Russian Interior Ministry troops continue operations to disarm illegal armed formations and to confiscate weapons from the local population. Groups of troops are engaged in operations to take control of the northeast outskirts of Groznyy and the district north of the river Sunzha. Measures are being taken to free Russian prisoners of war."

Stepashin Interviewed on Conflict

MM2001191095 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 95 p 2

[Interview with Sergey Stepashin, director of the Federal Counterintelligence Service, FCS, by correspondent Oleg Falichev in Mozdok; date not given: "'FCS Will Certainly Publish Information on Who Helped Dudayev and How'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Falichev] Sergey Vadimovich, how does the FCS [Federal Counterintelligence Service] assess the situation in Chechnya today? Is there still a staff in operation there, coordinating the gunmen's actions, and is there still a possibility of talks with them?

[Stepashin] Yes, according to our information, a staff exists. Maskhadov, its chief—or rather, he is now Chechen Republic defense minister—is in charge of the gunmen's operations in certain districts of Groznyy. As regards the republic as a whole or even Groznyy as a whole, they have no organized center of that kind. Many of the bandit formations are now out of control.

What about talks? Back in December Yegorov and I were authorized by the Security Council to hold talks, and all my trips to the Chechen Republic and my meetings are not so much in my capacity as director of the FCS and member of the Security Council, but as plenipotentiary representative of the Russian Government. We conduct talks with elders and leaders of departments, rayons, and settlements where we have been: Urus-Martan, Shekhovskaya, Gudermes, Argun.... But! Let me tell you my own opinion, which may be different from that expressed recently by Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin.

I am categorically opposed to talks with people representing the Dudayev regime—a criminal regime that has reduced the republic to such a state and is waging a war to annihilate its own people. Dudayev's men are shelling our troops from new buildings where the Russian population live. You also know about the atrocities they inflict on people taken prisoner.... That is why I consider it an outrage to conduct talks on any conditions. Except, of course, on one condition: the unconditional surrender of weapons and cessation of hostilities. I am in favor of talks on those terms with anyone at all. Even Dudayev.

[Falichev] Do you know where the Chechen leader is now, and are your services tasked with arresting him?

[Stepashin] According to our information he is in Groznyy. He has not gone anywhere in recent days. The latest video of him was shot at a medical camp [v ozdorovitelnom lagere] on the outskirts of Groznyy.

But it is not easy to find him. As you can imagine: Dzhokhar has been preparing for war for three years, and preparing quite seriously, as we are now realizing. He has built a whole system of communications, bunkers, and shelters under the city, where he can hide out for quite a long time. But in spite of this, we are tasked with arresting him.

[Falichev] Today many people in Russia and abroad are wondering what will happen after the end of the war in Chechnya. Will it turn into a guerrilla war?

[Stepashin] I don't think there will be a guerrilla war. I say that with absolute conviction not only because I have certain operational information and information from agents. But also on the basis of numerous meetings with the people of the Chechen Republic, as I have mentioned. Some 400,000 people live down there in the south of the Chechen Republic, in Urus-Martan and other settlements—nearly half the population of the Chechen Republic today. And they have no thoughts of civil war. People dream only of a normal life. Yet a large proportion of these cities and settlements, even Ochkoy-Martan, are actually the patrimony and homeland of Dzhokhar Dudayev himself and his clan. But the other day the elders there told the gunmen: You want to fight—leave the village, we won't let you back here any more.

The position is the same in Gudermes (although 800 gunmen moved there from Groznyy recently), Argun, Shali.... So we should not talk about a civil war, but about eliminating the remnants of the bandit formations.

Maybe some people will still want to take up arms. According to our calculations, these people will amount to no more than 8 percent. Mainly those who have already been fighting. And they are primarily the so-called mountain Chechens who have been living in a state of war since the century before last. Plus a proportion of the mercenaries.

[Falichev] Sergey Vadimovich, when did you last see the Russian Federation president? What is his assessment of events in Chechnya?

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[Stepashin] I have seen him in January, at the Security Council. But we talk on the telephone quite often. Just the other day I talked with him, along with Viktor Yerin and Pavel Grachev. Boris Nikolayevich is concerned about two problems. First—the speediest completion of combat operations in the city center. I'm sure you understand why: We must not allow great losses. Although, alas, it is rather difficult to talk about this today. And second—the speediest creation of normal economic and social conditions for the restoration of the Chechen Republic's economy. I repeat: The quicker we do this, the quicker the subject of "civil war" will disappear of its own accord. After all, people are simply longing for a normal human life. And some things have already been done in this respect. Local organs of power, represented by the Interim Council of the Chechen Republic and acting Prime Minister Khadzhiyev, are already in operation in the 12 biggest rayons of the Chechen Republic. They include federal counterintelligence services, prosecutor's offices, and ministries of internal affairs.

[Falichev] If you analyze the mistakes and shortcomings of the commencement of the military operation in the Chechen Republic, you come to the conclusion that the sending in of our troops was not fully thought out or backed up, and that includes FCS backing. Where, for instance, are our famous special subunits?

[Stepashin] Obviously I have to agree with that to some extent. Both the president and, even more, I myself realize that it was a mistake that when the former Security Ministry was transformed into the FCS it lost some of its special strong-arm subunits. Including the "Vympel" group which everyone has heard of. Incidentally, its former commander, Dmitriy Gerasimov, spent six weeks in Groznyy with 20 servicemen and did a tremendous job. But 20 men is a drop in the bucket. Any strong special service needs special subunits to combat bandit formations, regimes, and personalities. You know what I'm talking about.

It was also a tactical mistake on our part that we left the southern salient open. Admittedly Beslan Gantemirov and Umar Avturkhanov have now been instructed to close it.

[Falichev] Do you have any information to the effect that there is someone behind Dudayev? That his regime has had economic support from certain countries or leaders?

[Stepashin] Yes, we do have such information. But, with your permission, I will not name them. The economic counterintelligence service, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the prosecutor's office are currently looking into it. We have a sufficient quantity of documents and materials. As soon as the operational work is completed, I think we will hold a special press conference.

But in general this is a very serious question and a very serious problem. When—if I may say so—gunmen are being paid $800-1,000 a day, you'll agree that it is mystifying. Where does that kind of money come from? Russia is not yet in any state to hire people for contract service for any sum even remotely approaching this. If we had that possibility, we would now have real men on contract, instead of 18-year-old boys, conducting the combat operations. And you'll agree that then there would be far fewer losses....

[Falichev] A last question. How do you explain the fact that the information war was lost even before the federal troops went into Chechnya?

[Stepashin] I'm glad you asked me that. I entirely agree with you. The war was not only lost. Unfortunately, we were almost totally unprepared for ideological and propaganda work. There are several reasons for this. I am not going to talk about the individual and subjective factors. Or about the honor or dishonor of certain journalists. The majority of them do a good job. It was just that at first they were not allowed to come here, to Mozdok, so they went "over there."

After the breakup of the Union and the elimination of the very powerful ideological machine, there was nothing to fill the vacuum. Various vain attempts and reforms led to a situation where, you could say, we found ourselves with neither a state ideology nor the means by which to implement it. Now we have seen what that can result in. Therefore I think the country's leadership will draw certain conclusions from all this.

Stepashin Defends Groznyy Operation

LD2101201095 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 95

[Video report from Groznyy by correspondent Vladimir Polozhentsev, including recorded remarks by Sergey Stepashin, director of the Russian Federal Counterintelligence Service; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today's reports from Groznyy, where fighting continues, make it impossible to say that the military stage of the Chechen operation has been completed. [passage omitted]

Our special correspondent Vladimir Polozhentsev visited the center of Groznyy today. He begins his report in the former presidential palace.

[Polozhentsev] The Vremya program was the first of all the TV and radio companies in the world to enter this building since the beginning of the war.

The building has been almost completely destroyed. Kamikaze snipers still remain on some floors, therefore, the military only allowed us to go to the first floor. [passage omitted]

According to operational information, about 3,500 fighters still remain in Groznyy. Today they were moving to the east and southeast of the town and reinforcing their positions there.

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[Stepashin] Failures are possible and at some stage they did indeed happen. But could you give me a single example when one's own town was taken according to all the canons of operational and tactical skills? One should have a superiority of eight- or 10-to-1 in urban conditions, moreover, after delivering a heavy air attack that would be felt. We could not do such a thing because of people, because this is our town, because this is Russia, and we were fighting for each building. Moreover, we did not have any superiority, essentially the ratio was one-to-one.

Incidentally, have you noticed...[pauses] Now we are being criticized that we were moving too slow. We moved in such a way so that there was no guerrilla war in the rear. We have passed through every settlement. I have been to almost the whole of Chechnya. I have visited all the settlements through which our troops have passed, where [General Lev] Rokhlin and the interior troops have been. There are practically no casualties among the civilian population, they are all alive. By the way, we are not attacking Gudermes for the same simple reason.

[Polozhentsev] Russian intelligence officers are constantly discovering large ammunition depots. Yesterday one of them was found in the Minutka area. Mercenaries from Afghanistan, Abkhazia, the Dniester Region, Adygeya, and Yugoslavia continue to arrive in various parts of Groznyy.

According to operational information, the military and political leaders of the Chechen Republic, leaning for support on the nationalist circles in Northern Caucasus, are preparing provocations in the region. Their aim is to exacerbate ethnic contradictions and destabilize the situation in Northern Caucasus in general.

Fierce Fighting Reported Near Assinovskaya

LD2101162395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nazran, Jan 21 (INTERFAX)—A deputy to President Yeltsin's emissary in Ingushetia Aliskhan Khautiyev reports a combat engagement between federal troops and Chechen forces in the village of Assinovskaya near Chechnya's western border with Ingushetia. Heavy weapons were used Saturday morning in what Khautiyev describes as "fierce fighting" in Assinovskaya.

According to Khautiyev, Chechen forces attacked Russian troops around 0900 Russian planes were sent in on combat missions when the Chechens were about to drive the federal troops out of Assinovskaya.

Khautiyev could report no more details because it is "impossible to get to Assinovskaya."

Saturday afternoon Russian troops closed the flea market in the Ingush village of Sleptsovskaya, nine kilometers away from Assinovskaya, Khautiyev said. They used loudspeakers mounted on low-flying helicopters to order the salespeople to disperse.

In Khautiyev's view, the Russians feared that a chance shell could explode in the Ingush village and tried to prevent people from massing in the local marketplace.

No other source corroborated Khautiyev's report on fighting in Assinovskaya.

Dudayev Meets Commanders in Groznyy

LD2101135295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1315 GMT 21 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Yarushin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—"Dzhokhar Dudayev is in Groznyy today; he has had meetings with the military, and I personally saw him a few hours ago," Movladi Udugov, chairman of the national information service of Dudayev's government, told ITAR-TASS by telephone. He also said that on Friday [20 January] Dudayev "held a conference with Chechen field commanders in a bunker about 500 meters from the presidential palace."

Udugov confirmed that earlier this week Dudayev indeed left the Chechen capital to go to Dagestan to give a press conference in the town of Khasav-Yurt there.

At the same time, according to a report from Gadzhi Shamov, an ITAR-TASS correspondent in Makhachkala, Valeriy Beyev, the first deputy interior minister of Dagestan, described as "absurd" a report that Dudayev allegedly had been to Khasav-Yurt and stressed that the border between Dagestan and the Chechen Republic "is under secure control."

Chechens Focusing on Russian Army's Rear

LD2101144795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1404 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—"Chechnya has completed the establishment of task forces, whose task will be to conduct combat activities in the rear of the Russian troops," Movladi Udugov, head of the Chechen Information Service, told ITAR-TASS by telephone on Saturday.

Udugov also said that he had obtained this information from Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev's chief of staff Aslan Maskhadov.

Groznyy Airfields Under Russian Control

LD2101204095 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 95

[Video report by correspondent Vladimir Polozhentsev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] You can see a squadron returning from a sortie. [passage omitted]

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Choppers are flying from Mozdok to Chechnya not only to bomb fighters; they are being used to evacuate the wounded and deliver humanitarian aid to the local population.

All three airfields around Groznyy—(Kalinskaya), Khankala, and Groznyy-Severnyy—are in the hands of the Russian military, but Mojahedin are still making desperate attempts to recapture them.

[Begin Colonel General V. Pavlov recording, commander in chief of Ground Forces Aviation, identified by caption, shown on airfield, airfield building bearing the word Groznyy] This airfield is of great importance not only to the Russian Armed Forces but, above all, to the Chechen people. I first arrived here on 6 December and every day since then we have been delivering cargoes and humanitarian aid here and, of course, evacuating the wounded. [end recording]

[Polozhentsev] You can see what was left of the Groznyy-Severnyy airfield after fierce fighting. Nevertheless, our servicemen are already rebuilding it. They think it will be able to carry out civil operations soon. [passage omitted]

Sources Say Split Among Chechens Growing

LD2201174895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 22 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Groznyy, Jan 22 (INTERFAX)—According to Russian military sources, attempts are being made to supply weapons to Chechnya under the guise of humanitarian aid.

Two KamAZ trucks carrying humanitarian aid to Chechnya were detained by Azerbaijani traffic police on January 20. A search revealed the presence of fire arms, grenade launchers and ammunition.

The same sources report that the split between Dudayev's supporters and those sharing the idea of terminating combat operations is growing in Chechnya. The population of Chechnya's Shelkovsky Region has begun surrendering arms. On insistence from the local residents, Dudayev militants had to remove two mobile missile launchers in an unknown direction from the village of Gerzel.

Government Statement on Conflict

LD2201165195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1627 GMT 22 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 22 (TASS)—The press service of the Russian Government issued the following statement on Chechnya on Sunday:

"According to reports from commanders of the Russian Federal Armed Forces, over the past 24 hours, Russian troops did not conduct active combat operations in Chechnya. They maintained control over districts and villages, repelled attacks by militants from illegal armed groups and regrouped forces.

"The situation in Groznyy remains tense. Bands are concentrating their efforts in order to retain the eastern and southeastern parts of the city. An analysis of incoming reports shows that despite some success achieved by the Federal Armed Forces, (Chechen President Dzhokhar) Dudayev's supporters intend to continue resistance. They are laying mines along the routes of their retreat, recruit new fighters, bring in reserves and set up command posts to the south of the river Sunzha. The leaders of illegal armed groups are establishing firing positions and devising a new tactic of combat activities.

"Civilians continue to leave Groznyy in small groups.

"Information has been received that some Dudayev's bands are taking measures to move to the Khasav-Yurt districts of Dagestan where Akinets Chechens live. The situation is being compounded by the lack of effective border control on the administrative border between Chechnya and Dagestan.

"According to reports from the advanced group of the press service of the Russian Government, the Federal Armed Forces have demined Groznyy's Ordzhonikidze Avenue up to Nikitin Street.

"Russian Interior Ministry troops continue to clean up districts of Groznyy—Mayakovskiy, Altaiskaya and Astrakhanskaya streets.

"Over the past 24 hours, the operational group of the Russian Ministry for Emergencies has evacuated 19 wounded civilians to Vladikavkaz and made preparations for the transportation of relief supplies to Makhachkala.

"According to the Counterintelligence Service, Dudayev's militants continue to receive weapons and ammunition. Part of a shipment of 500 grenade launchers was delivered to Groznyy yesterday. Fifty new mercenaries wearing blue berets with an inscription," Ukraine," have appeared there.

"Military counterintelligence reports indicate that militants are concentrated in large numbers in settlements of several districts of Chechnya on the border with Dagestan. They are building defenses there.

"On January 20, the Khasav-Yurt headquarters of the Chechen National Council received Dudayev's order no. 11 of January 18, 1995 to send 300 militants to Groznyy. The order caused a controversial reaction. The majority of the council's members supported its leader B. Dadayev, who said that 'those who want may go. We will not send anyone'.

"As a result of the measures taken by the Russian FSK division in the Chechen Republic, company commander Captain Basalko has been freed from captivity.

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"In connection with the recent reorientation of Russian and foreign journalists towards the position of the Federal Armed Forces, bands' snipers have begun a real hunt for them and people who accompany them.

"As a result of such activities, a journalist from Pskov and a major who accompanied were killed, a Vesti television engineer, Sergey Kukushkin, received a slight concussion."

Visiting Duma Deputy Says War 'Disgraceful'

LD2101182595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2007 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nazran, Jan 21 (INTERFAX)—Deputies of the State Duma Bair Zhamsuyev and Nikolay Stolyarov, members of the provisional supervising commission on restoration of constitutional order in Chechnya, called on the whole world and on Russia "to rise against continuation of war in Chechnya." "This is not a Chechen problem but a nationwide tragedy," they declared at a press conference in Nazran, the Ingush capital, on Saturday.

Having described the war in Chechnya as "disgraceful" General Stolyarov declared that "the war is lost primarily in the political aspect but the moral loss is the most terrible one."

The deputies recognized that human rights and primarily the right for life are violated in the conflict zone.

The information stating that Dudayev's supporters are allegedly concentrating in Ingushetia's Sunzhen region "are of a provocative nature," the deputies asserted.

'Disfigured' Russian Corpses Described

LD2101182995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1722 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Groznyy, Jan 21 (INTERFAX)—On Friday 39 disfigured corpses of Russian servicemen with traces of tortures were delivered to Groznyy's northern aerodrome to be evacuated to Mozdok. Our Interfax correspondent who has just returned from Chechnya to Moscow testifies that several corpses of the Russian soldiers were with their hands and ears cut off and their eyes put out. Part of the corpses is scalped. Many of them are gnawed by dogs.

Military physicians declared that these injuries cannot be inflicted as a result of an explosion of a mine, shell, or a wound. They testify that "the soldiers were tortured when they were alive." Many of them were captured when they were wounded and for some time they received medical aid but then they were killed, the physicians believe.

The corpses were taken near the factory Krasny Molot where units of the 131st Maikop brigade were waging combat operations at night from December 31 to January 1.

According to the officer who delivered the corpses, as many as 13 bodies of servicemen with their genitals cut out were found near the building of the Council of Ministers (Groznyy's central part).

Members of one of the funeral teams which collect corpses of servicemen—participants of the first battles in Groznyy testify that they still find killed soldiers and officers who were lying in the streets from last December 31. In their words, Chechen fighters have mined several corpses.

Participants of the hostilities reported to Interfax that Chechen snipers resort to a fanatically cruel tactics. They shoot in feet of one of the servicemen and wait until another one runs to him for help and kill both of them. In order to strengthen the casualty-producing effect they sharpen the cartridges' head and make spiral stripes on them. If this cartridge appears in a body it opens like a flower bud.

"Fighters use prisoners of war for rituals in order to frighten federal forces and to raise combat mood of Dudayev's supporters," say data of radio interceptions. Intelligence officers testify that fighters "use Russian-speaking children and women as hostages or as a "live shield."

Regional Opinion on Conflict Varied

LD2001115695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1135 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 20 ITAR-TASS—The spectrum of Russian regions' opinion on the use of force in Chechnya extends from total support and assistance to absolute rejection.

It was reported by an ITAR-TASS correspondent from St. Petersburg that the city government took all expenses related to the involvement of St. Petersburg's special operations police units (OMON) in Chechnya. Now 350 officers of the St. Petersburg Interior Department and 31 OMON servicemen are active in Chechnya. Durations of their stay there are 10 days to three months. The city's interior services said there were no casulaties in these groups. St. Petersburg's authorities offered the Russian Defence Ministry to use the city budget to pay to St. Petersburg volunteers who go to Chechnya under contracts.

Reports say many Russian cities are sending gift parcels to co-citizens serving in Chechnya. A plane with a cargo of drugs, food and warm clothes left Yekaterinburg for Chechnya today. The action was sponsored by the Sverdlov region's committee of soldiers' mothers.

Aid is also sent to military hospitals. An ITAR-TASS correspondent reported from Rostov today that gifts from factories, banks and firms are received every day by Rostov's military hospital. High-quality perfumes, fruit, delicacies are only a short list of what is sent for soldiers

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and officers convalescing from severe wounds. Several television sets and fridges were presented to the hospital.

However, the means employed in law and order enforcement in Chechnya meet with bad acceptance from other segments of the Russian society. The Irkutsk region's legislative assembly demanded today that changes be introduced to the Russian Constitution committing the president to ask the parliament for approval of using the army within Russia. The assembly passed a resolution which demands "to begin immediate search for an effective political settlement of the conflict."

An action is due to be held in Cheboksary today to support a decree of Chuvash President Nikolay Fedorov which actually scraps judicial responsibility of the military who refuse to serve in Chechnya.

ITAR-TASS Rounds Up Regional Attitudes

LD2001211195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1956 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Two motorized and one reinforced tank battalions with an overall strength of 2,000 men have been sent from the Leningrad Military District to Chechnya. Six of the servicemen are dead, one is missing. The precise number of wounded from the Leningrad Military District is unknown, since they are taken to various hospitals. The Petersburg mayor's office will pay ten million rubles to each family of the killed servicemen. In the rest five regions of the Leningrad Military District the families of dead servicemen will receive from one million in Arkhangelsk to 25 millions in Novgorod.

A train carrying construction machinery has left Yekaterinburg for Northern Caucasus today. The train passengers will help to remove debris in Groznyy. The volunteers are ready for autonomous actions; they are carrying food, medicines, coal and firewood.

Almost all Russian regions are collecting clothing and food for servicemen who are participating in the Chechen operation and refugees from Chechnya. One of such posts has opened in Vladikavkaz. A regular batch of humanitarian aid has arrived in the North Ossetian capital today from the U.N. and the Russian Ministry for Emergency Situations. The aid includes food, clothing and prime necessities.

The Perm regional administration allocated six million rubles for buying gifts to local servicemen now on active duty in Chechnya. A hotline of the local military enlistment and registration office is functioning for soldiers' parents.

Wounded servicemen in the Orenburg hospital is receiving books and sweets from local residents.

At the same time, many Russians are criticizing the Russian leadership for its way to settle the Chechen problem. Rallies against the military operation in Chechnya are being constantly held in Ufa. A number of influential public organizations appealed to the president of Bashkortostan today to issue a decree similar to the one "on protection of servicemen" and ensure legal protection of local residents who refused to fight in Chechnya.

The number of South Urals residents who oppose the introduction of federal troops in Chechnya has doubled from December 15 through January 15, reports the VECHERNYY CHELYABINSK newspaper. Back in december the majority of local residents supported the conflict solution by force.

Bashkortostan's President Cited on Conflict

LD2001204595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1946 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ufa. 20 January. INTERFAX—President Murtaza Rakhimov of Bashkortostan has described the events in Chechnya as a "national tragedy for Russia."

Rakhimov told Interfax Friday he had expressed, at a meeting with President Yeltsin on 17 January in Moscow, his republic's concern "over the tragedy in Chechnya, the Russian servicemen and civilians who had died, and the towns and villages which had been destroyed." The Bashkir president said the republic's citizens were "demanding an end to the bloodshed end and urgent action to achieve a peaceful settlement to the conflict."

Rakhimov also said at the meeting with Yeltsin that the council of heads of republics must again be allowed to work to "retain and strengthen Russia's integrity." He said the federation must exist as a result of "well-conceived,coordinated efforts by the center and regions based on mutual regard."

Rally Against War Held in Cheboksary

LD2001145895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1423 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentina Ivanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Cheboksary January 20 TASS—A rally to protest against combat operations in Chechnya and support the decree "on protection of servicemen" was held today on central square of the Chuvash capital of Cheboksary. The rally was organized by Chuvash public movements, including the Chuvash National Congress.

The decree was signed on January 11 by Chuvash President Nikolay Fedorov to say that "the current legislation is lacking proper legal basis" for the use of the regular army in combat operations on Russian territory in settlement of inter-ethnic and regional conflicts. The decree recommended the Chuvash State Council to "adopt laws for protection of legitimate rights and interests of servicemen-citizens of Chuvashia".

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Although the document did not mention Chechnya, the republic views it as an intention to legally protect Chuvash youngsters who are morally and professionally unprepared for a war inside Russia. The document was followed by a decree of the Russian president who estimated it as "not corresponding to the Russian Constitution" and recommended Fedorov to cancel the document. The Chuvash president has refused to do it.

Krasnodar Legislature's Opposition Viewed

MM2001141495 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Jan 95 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Bulygin: "A Shortsightedness Akin to Blindness, or How the Kuban Legislators Expressed Solidarity With Dudayev"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Krasnodar—Boris Vavilov, Aleksandr Travnikov, and Aleksey Ivanchenko, deputies of the Krasnodar Kray legislative assembly, tried in vain to moderate their colleagues' ardor and warn them against attacking the Kremlin with excessive and sometimes entirely unwarranted criticism and against the adoption of hasty decisions by duma members here.

It seems that even when some people's elected representatives were fighting for their seat as deputy, they were harboring a secret thought of making a contribution to the attainment of their cherished aim—undermining the authority of presidential power. Heaven forbid they waste an opportunity to cast aspersions on the head of state. Fortunately a favorable pretext has materialized—the events in Chechnya, which have provoked many conflicting views.

Of course you understand the pain for the soldiers killed or wounded in Chechnya and for the ruined lives of Russian people who have experienced the full "blessings" of Dudayev's paradise. But have these deputies chosen a worthy occupation as they excessively exploit the people's grief in their political battles? Having climbed aboard the Chechen "Trojan horse," the Kuban's legislators were so successful in their logomachy that the uninitiated might conclude from their arguments that the crisis situation had not been provoked by Dudayev but by the Russian head of state who for some reason conceived the insane idea of destroying the Chechen people's peaceful life. The longer it went on, the worse it got. Now with political passions at their height the deputies seem to have decided to operate according to the principle "the end justifies the means."

I don't know about anyone else but it would be wrong for the Kuban people to feign naivety and ignorance that it is through Dudayev's malicious will that Groznyy was turned into a bridgehead for the struggle against united Russia long ago. You need to suffer from a major memory lapse to forget so soon the succession of terrorist acts at Rostov-na-Donu and Mineralnyye Vody airports, the looting of freight cars, the barbaric attacks by cutthroats on border regions of Stavropol Kray, or the number of opportunites that the Russian president gave Dudayev to reconsider.

It was hard not to shudder at the calls voiced at the session for rapid retribution against the federal executive. The "reek" of the atmosphere of 1937 was given off by the cornucopia of political ambitions in the hall at the extraordinary session of the kray parliament. The main target of the attacks was the head of state, who has shouldered the most onerous responsibility for the fate of united Russia and for the bold decisions designed to protect that unity. And it was only thanks to the desperate attempts of the moderate minority among the deputies that some of the phrases in the political statement were successfully toned down. For example, in the final version of the text the demand that he resign was replaced by a call for him to relinquish the heavy burden of state: "The president and the government bear direct responsibility for what has happened in Chechnya."

The road to the political Olympus is inscrutable. Inflammatory appeals do not provide the best route to it. When ambition prevails over common sense conflicts often develop into war. This tragedy has befallen Chechnya. However, the Kuban parliament did not say a thing about Dudayev's "services." Wait just a little longer, it seemed, and the deputies would be singing the praises of a man who has flouted the laws and dragged his people into bloody carnage. However, you do not have to canonize a "naughty child" to inspire him to new "feats." Silence, too, is not always golden. We know what problems it produces.

Khabarovsk, Maritime Kray Governors Cited

OW2101052395 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0620 GMT 18 Jan 95

[Announcer-read report; from the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Khabarovsk Kray Administration head Viktor Ishayev addressed an appeal to the Russian president in which he called for a halt to military action in the Chechen Republic, for this is leading to unjustified losses not only among the military but also among peaceful civilians. In Viktor Ishayev's opinion, the dialogue between artillery pieces should be replaced by constructive talks behind a round table.

Maritime Kray Administration head Yevgeniy Nazdratenko maintains a different position. In a telegram addressed to Boris Yeltsin, he announced his support for the measures taken by federal authorities to restore statehood and the constitutional order in Chechnya. In Nazdratenko's opinion, the Maritime Kray has felt the tenacious hand of the criminal bosses from Groznyy more than has any other Russian region. The Maritime Kray governor expressed his confidence that the president would be firm in exercising his powers as a guarantor of the Constitution in the Russian Federation.

Tyva Parliament Blocks Sending Militia

LD2201093095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1529 GMT 21 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Sobetskiy]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Kyzyl, 21 Jan—The Supreme Hural (Parliament) of Tyva today adopted a decision suspending sending members of the law-enforcement bodies of the republic to Chechnya. The wording of the document is of a very evasive nature and in no way touches upon what is happening in Chechnya.

Kaadyr-Ool Bicheldey, the chairman of parliament, told ITAR-TASS that "Tyva has no desire whatever to participate in the events, to which the population of the republic reacts unfavorably, but it does not wish to quarrel with the federal authorities." According to Bicheldey, "the Tyva Ministry of Internal Affairs this week received instructions from Moscow to send 15 militiamen to the northern Caucasus." However, the crime situation in the republic has become more complex, the head of the Tyvan parliament said, and the Supreme Hural has committed the law-enforcement bodies this year to concentrate all their efforts on ensuring the safety of the citizens. At this time, the Tyvan parliamentary decision points out, there is a ban on "sending operational sub-units to other regions of the country without the consent of the supreme bodies of power in the republic."

The situation in Tyva since the start of the conflict in Chechnya remains calm, and there has been only one instance of a representative of that republic taking part in combat operations.

Protests Held in Kabardino-Balkaria

LD2201173995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 22 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NALCHIK, Jan 22 (Interfax)—A meeting held in Nalchik, the capital of Kabardino-Balkaria, on Sunday condemned combat operations in Chechnya as a "criminal and anti-constitutional action."

The meeting was organized by the Congress of the Kabardinian People and the Adyge-Khase Kabardinian national movement, and brought together several hundred Nalchik residents in Abkhazia Square, despite the current ban on meetings.

The resolution, adopted by the demonstrators, demands that President Yeltsin "put an early end to the bloodshed in Chechnya and to the genocide of the Chechen people, and tackle all problems in Chechen-Russian relations peacefully." They demonstrators also insisted that all servicemen from among citizens of Kabardino-Balkaria be recalled from Chechnya.

They demanded that the republic leaders lift the ban on meetings, manifestations and pickets, imposed on December 14 1994, and do away with the blockade of Chechnya-related information. They also proposed organizing a round-table conference involving representatives of public organizations to discuss ways of normalizing the situation in Chechnya and in the whole of the North Caucasus.

After the meeting the participants set out to the government building but were stopped by the police and special units. Several activists of the Kabardinian national movement were detained, but after talks with the organizers of the meeting, were freed.

Government Press Service Report on Conflict

LD2301123595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1214 GMT 23 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—The Russian Government press service transmitted the following report to ITAR-TASS on Monday:

According to information from the forward group of the Russian Government press service:

Federal troops occupied some districts in Groznyy over the past 24 hours, repulsed attacks by gunmen, sealed off streets and carried out mopping-up operations in the city from armed gangs and sharpshooters.

Federal troops seized the street-car depot in the city by this time and hold up as well as clean 12 streets and two central thoroughfares in Groznyy. Troops also control the railway junction and crossings in the western outskirt of Argun city.

A group of the Russian Ministry for Emergencies brought humanitarian aid to the village of Podgornyy (27 tonnes of foodstuffs and medecines) and 3.5 tonnes to the village of Znamenka.

A convoy with machinery and personnel for territorial administration was dispatched to the village of Tolstoy-Yurt. A total of 1.5 tonnes of medecines were also sent there. Helicopters brought 13.2 tonnes of foodstuffs to Makhachkala.

Seven wounded civilians were evacuated from Groznyy to Mozdok.

The Federal Counterintelligence Service found out while questioning refugees that Russian women and children were being detained as hostages in a forest near the village of Shali.

As a result of several measures carried out by counterintelligence officers, they identified persons who killed three Russian borderguards. Intense work is now in progress to track down the criminals.

Northern Marines' Losses 'Considerable'

LD2301092995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0856 GMT 23 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Murmansk January 23 TASS—A battalion of marines from the Northern Fleet sustained "considerable losses" while storming the presidential palace in the Chechen capital of Groznyy and was withdrawn from the city centre "for rest and reinforcement", TASS learned from sources in the northern fleet on Monday.

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The number of losses was not specified, but the sources said that 250 new marines had been airlifted to Chechnya on Sunday and overnight to join the battalion.

"Northern marines who displayed courage in street fighting will meet in the rear with their comrades who had so far stayed in the Polar region" where the Northern Fleet is based, the sources said.

"The rear" might mean the North Ossetian city of Mozdok where the headquarters of the Russian operation in Chechnya were situated. [passage omitted]

Pacific Marines Suffer First Losses

LD2301082295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0734 GMT 23 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Yuriy Grachev and Boris Krivolapov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vladivostok January 23 TASS—The Pacific Fleet has received sad news from Chechnya: The marines regiment sent to the area of combat operations two weeks ago suffered first losses, ITAR-TASS learned from the Pacific Fleet press service on Monday.

Senior Lieutenant Maksim Rusakov, platoon commander, died of a serious fragment wound, while another three marines were wounded and hospitalised. Posts of Pacific marines which started mopping-up operations of Groznyy from armed gangs, were heavily shelled from trench mortars over the past 24 hours.

According to earlier reports, population in the Far East gave different appraisals to the dispatch of marines to Chechnya. The Maritime Committee of Soldiers' Mothers resolutely protested their participation in combat operations. Some servicemen also expressed negative attitude to their dispatch.

For instance, 14 officers of the marines division refused to go to Chechnya. Admiral Igor Khmelnov, Pacific Fleet commander, sent a report on their dismissal to the Russian defence minister. He was backed by commissioned and non-commissioned officers fighting in Chechnya. They called on the military leadership to clean immediately the armed forces from officers refusing to go to Chechnya.

According to information available to ITAR-TASS, Defence Minister Pavel Grachev awarded the medal "for military valour", first and second class, to 75 marines who are in the zone of the Chechen conflict.

Six trainloads with combat materiel were dispatched to the area of Mozdok since the time marines started combat operations in Chechnya. Besides, an Il-76 transport plane with various military property, warm clothing as well as parcels and gifts coolected by servicmen's families and humanitarian aid from the Vladivostok administration and the Maritime Committee of Soldiers' Mothers was flown to Chechnya, informs the Pacific Fleet press service.

Military's 'Obstruction' of Kovalev Detailed

MM2301095595 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 95 p 4

[Report by Yevgeniya Albats: "How Military Are Blocking Human Rights Commissioner's Work"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozdok-Nazran—Sergey Adamovich Kovalev did not really want to go to Mozdok, where the Russian troops' headquarters are located. A little more than a week ago, when it emerged that the cease-fire which was to be announced had been wrecked, Kovalev was already trying to get in contact with the commander of the group of Russian forces, General A. Kvashnin, and his deputy, General L. Shevtsov. However, it is likely that the generals were busy organizing the next missile and bombing raid on Groznyy and could not come to the telephone.

But now Sergey Kovalev had to go to Mozdok for several reasons. The day before yet another tragedy had unfolded in Groznyy before the eyes of correspondents: A shell had landed in a line of people with pails waiting for water. As a result nine were wounded, five were killed on the spot, and two died in hospital. Among the wounded was a seven-year-old boy whose legs were ripped off by a piece of shrapnel.

Kovalev also had to go to Mozdok to discuss the problem of prisoners of war. Kovalev's group is compiling its own list of captured Russian soldiers, including wounded men who have recently been caught in bombing by their own artillery. In Mozdok Kovalev also intended to discuss the question of ending missile and bombing raids on Chechen villages. Two days ago, the villages of Shatoy and Borzoy were subjected to such a raid—23 people died there. A little earlier the settlements of Bemut and Achkhoy-Mortan and the Cossack village of Assinovskaya were bombed. Russian aircraft are dropping leaflets on villages, signed by the command of the Combined Group of Russian Forces in the Chechen Republic, which say the following: If Russian troops are fired on from your population center, we will without hesitation reply with heavy missile and bombing raids! Your own and your children's lives are in your hands!" Sergey Kovalev wanted to explain the military that this was no more than a revival of the shameful practice of blackmail, known from both the early years of Soviet rule and the history of the Great Patriotic War, when the Germans gave exactly the same kind of warnings and carried them out, saying that for every Wehrmacht soldier killed a village population would be executed or the village burned down.

Kovalev also wanted to clear up with the military what information they have when they claim that the opposing side is defiling the bodies of Russian soldiers.

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What is behind this are stories about the bodies of Russian soldiers being hung up in the windows of a number of blocks in Groznyy, of Chechen gunmen "violating a kindergarten," as N. Yegorov announced on television, and of captured soldiers—both alive and dead—being castrated. As this last piece of information is now a particular worry to people, I must say that, in the opinion of Colonel Oleg Aleksandrovich Popov, commander of the special-purpose medical detachment of the military hospital named for Burdenko, with whom we talked yesterday in Mozdok, all this is "Rubbish! Rumors! There has been a lot of this kind of talk in the last few days, but not one person who told me about castrations and gouged-out eyes had personally seen it happen."

Here now is a documentary record of this trip.

Tuesday, 17 January 1995:

1300. The guard post of the headquarters of the command of the group of Russian forces in Mozdok. We have already been waiting on the street for an hour. Commander Gen. A. Kvashnin is busy, as is his deputy. They are unable to receive Kovalev.

1330. The headquarters of the interior troops command. Lieutenant General S. Kovun, deputy commander of internal troops, is very courteous but has announced that he is unable to reply to the human rights commissioner's questions as he has no information.

1345. The headquarters of the Russian executive in the Chechen Republic (which, interestingly, is located on a Russian military base). The sentry runs off to report to his superior officers. Kovalev is surrounded by journalists: "Is it true, as border guards deputy commander Gen. Bordyuzha has reported, that the Russian border guards killed in the Cossack village of Assinovskaya were disemboweled?" "That is a lie!" Kovalev replies. "I myself found those bodies."

An hour passes. We are still standing at the door. Kovalev is determined. "On the second floor is the office of the Temporary Monitoring Commission for Citizen's Constitutional Rights and Freedoms," he says to the sentry. "I have been appointed its deputy chairman. You have an obligation to let me through." The sentry hesitates. But he is not determined to stop Kovalev. We go up to the second floor and find Room 8, on which a hastily written sign hangs: "Chairman of the Temporary Monitoring Commission, Minister of Justice Valentin Alekseyevich Kovalev." Opposite it, as if by design, is the room allocated to the "Federal Counterintelligence Service operations group." But Stepashin is not there. At the other end of the corridor are the offices of N. Yegorov, minister of nationalities affairs and regional policy, and Igor Agarkov, leader of the federal executive apparatus for the Chechen Republic. Agarkov appears.

"Identify yourself. Who are you?" he orders Sergey Kovalev, as if seeing him for the first time.

"Excuse me, but who am I speaking to?" Kovalev asks.

"First of all identify yourself, then I will decide if I will talk to you," Agarkov replies. He is in camouflage fatigues.

1512. There is a government telephone line in our office (which is a large classroom). Kovalev asks to be put through to Gen. Shevtsov. At the other end of the line there is some problem: Shevtsov is, of course, busy. A member of Shevtsov's staff takes the call: "Who is that speaking?" "Kovalev."

"You'd better get away from here as quickly as possible or the officers will tear you to pieces."

Kovalev again picks up the receiver:

"Give me the deputy chief military prosecutor."

He is put through to Grigoriy Nosov. Vildan Uzbekov, Russian Federation deputy general prosecutor, who happens to be in Nosov's office, immediately picks up the receiver.

"Vildan Suleymanovich," Kovalev says, "I want to inform you officially that a threat of reprisals against me and my group has just come from Lt. Gen. Shevtsov's apparatus."

Uzbekov seems uneasy. He is prepared to meet. "I will either come over or I'll send for you within half an hour."

1550. Half an hour passes and still nobody has come from Uzbekov. Kovalev once more picks up the government line receiver. A young woman operator says: "I am forbidden to make any connections to or from your phone." After lengthy explanations Agarkov tell us that it was he who gave the order to cut off Kovalev's phone. Quoting Justice Minster Valentin Kovalev's directive, he also orders him to clear his room.

1630. The room has been cleared. We are standing on the stairs. There is no news from Uzbekov. The sign "Temporary Monitoring Commission for Citizen's Constitutional Rights and Freedoms" is removed from the office. Really, what constitutional rights and freedoms are there here.... But Sergey Kovalev has no intention of withdrawing. He demands to be put through to the justice minister.

1730. Kovalev speaks with Kovalev. The latter assures him that he gave no instructions to bar the human rights commissioner from his office and did not cut off his telephone.

1800. Kovalev finds out that Uzbekov and Nosov have gone off somewhere by car. No, they have not asked for any message to be passed on. In other words, the country's deputy general prosecutor and deputy chief military prosecutor have simply run away from the human rights commissioner.

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We search for Russian counterintelligence chief S. Stepashin, but to no avail.

1830. The phone is still out. So the military are not carrying out the justice minister's directive either. It is clear that nothing more can be done here. We leave for Nazran.

Duma Deputy on Conflict's Legal Basis

954F0944A Novosibirsk SOVETSKAYA SIBIR in Russian 17 Jan 95 p 2

[Interview with I.S. Anichkin by A. Yugrina; place and date not given: "Everything Prescribed by the Law Has Been Done"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] **Items have appeared in many central newspapers accusing members of the lower house of parliament of a reluctance at the legislative level to halt the bloodshed in Chechnya. Other than an appeal to the president, there have, allegedly, been no decisive actions on the part of the State Duma. Our correspondent interviews on this topic Ivan Stepanovich Anichkin, deputy of the State Duma:**

[Anichkin] From my viewpoint, the State Duma has done all that it could according to the law. After all, questions of the imposition of a state of emergency and martial law are not within the jurisdiction of the State Duma. But it could not remain apathetic to the events in the North Caucasus. We have adopted three documents. They are all of a recommendatory nature, naturally. The first was a resolution on the situation in the Chechen Republic. The purpose of the document was a suspension of military operations and negotiations on a switch of the situation to a peaceful track. The next document was a statement of the State Duma. And the third, an appeal to Yeltsin and Dudayev for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

[Yugrina] The Supreme Soviet, as I recall, deemed at one of its meetings the election of President Dudayev null and void. But time passed, and this was forgotten. Now, when war has begun, this document has been claimed once again and is being exhibited in all the news media.

[Anichkin] It is no secret that the offensive of the Russian Armed Forces on Groznyy began in November. Our army attempted to paint over the identification markings on the aircraft and helicopters. They wanted in November-December to oust the authorities in Chechnya with the aid of the opposition. For whom? It is not clear. That is, President Yeltsin and the government wanted to do everything under the pretense that the work was not being performed by our Russian boys and that it was not Russian arms that were being employed in Chechnya. Whatever one thinks of Dudayev, he was elected legitimately. It is said that some violations were noted at the elections at that time. But we have these in Russia also.

[Yugrina] It is a component of the Federation, and it elects its own president?

[Anichkin] Yes. No one has forgotten President Yeltsin's words: "Take as much sovereignty as you can swallow!" He, thus, gave them the right to what subsequently followed.

[Yugrina] Ivan Stepanovich, why, for all that, were deputies of the Russia's Choice faction the first to comment on the events in Chechnya?

[Anichkin] There were, in reality, far more groups that commented. But the press and television did not deem it necessary to publish the other factions and names. As far as Yushenkov is concerned, he was at the flash point in the first days in the line of business—as chairman of the Defense Committee.

The most negative things may be heard at this time about Russia's Choice. They are being accused of having themselves exerted considerable effort to incite the conflict and have now rushed to defend human rights and are demanding a halt to the bloodshed merely because they want to score political points. This is all superficial, I believe. This is not what is most important. Who was the first to go there, who raised his voice against the war—this is of no importance today. I have sincere respect for all who have taken part in this protest.

[Yugrina] And how do you see Deputy Kovalev's mission?

[Anichkin] He is the human rights representative. He has recently been sharply criticized, in the State Duma included, on the part of the Communist, Agrarian, and other parties. And this is not unfounded. Human rights are, after all, being violated everywhere, throughout Russia. This was connected with last year's events in Moscow, when he said nothing. And take the violations connected with the nonpayment of wages. So, then, in linking Kovalev's participation in the Chechen events to the office of human rights representative, it has to be seen that it is not simply rights that are being violated in Chechnya; people are losing their lives. And this is the absolute limit. He simply had to be there. He is transmitting his material to the State Duma: how people are dying, how many casualties, and so forth. [passage omitted]

[Yugrina] Can the State Duma prohibit the armed forces form taking part in military operations and, essentially, waging war on their own people?

[Anichkin] No. The armed forces do the bidding of their command and the bidding of the president. The Federation Council should involve itself in these matters, it would seem. Declare a state of emergency, for example. But a state of emergency has not been declared in Chechnya. Nor even does the law on a state of emergency make provision for the commitment of troops, and no one had the right, therefore, to commit troops to the

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Chechen Republic to conduct combat operations. The imposition of a state of emergency is the prerogative of the Federation Council.

I believe that the war will be of a protracted nature. Many people, peaceful citizens included, have already died in Chechnya. But no one is publishing these figures. And those that are being announced in the news media are far from the truth. The city may be taken, of course, but then another war—guerrilla—will begin. Surprise attack, pull back, surprise attack, pull back. These are Dudayev's tactics. And into the mountains. But, since Chechnya is already blockaded, foreign states will not assist directly.

[Yugrina] Is this merely what Deputy of the State Duma Ivan Stepanovich Anichkin thinks?

[Anichkin] No. This is what many deputies think. And the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] believes that the conflict should be ended only militarily. The slogan of many people from Zhirinovskiy's party is: the worse, the better for the LDPR. Why? This will accelerate the elections for president and the Federation Council, where they want to obtain a preponderance of seats.

There is information in some places that the president is being kept uninformed, that he is being manipulated. I categorically disagree with these fictions. Only the president is making decisions and issuing orders as commander in chief.

Chechens Said To Plan Flooding of Groznyy

954F0966A Baku ZERKALO in Russian 14 Jan 95 p 5

[Interview with Rustam Susayev, war correspondent for CHECHEN- PRESS, by T. Abdulova and A. Aliyeva, in Baku; date not given: "If Groznyy Falls, It Will Be Flooded,' Declares CHECHEN-PRESS Agency War Correspondent in an Interview with ZERKALO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Information on the war that has been raging in neighboring Chechnya for more than a month now already is coming to Azerbaijan mainly through the Russian mass media. We try, although this is not simple, to give our readers a chance to become familiar with what the party defending itself is saying. A few days ago, a war correspondent for the CHECHEN-PRESS agency, Rustam Susayev, visited the ZERKALO editorial office, having arrived from Groznyy the day before.**

[ZERKALO] According to reports from the Russian mass media, the Chechen home guard are surrendering their arms, and Groznyy is just about to fall. Russian troops are sustaining losses, but they are not great....

[Susayev] The Russian troops have daily losses in the range of 200 armored vehicles. Every assault costs the Russian Army no less than one regiment in losses. We have an enormous number of prisoners of war. The Russian Army is demoralized. True, it has the advantage, but only in combat aviation, thanks to which they are inflicting "surgical" missile strikes on the peaceful population, forgetting about its "military installations."

[ZERKALO] In your view, what have the losses of the Russian Army been since the beginning of the military actions?

[Susayev] I cannot tell you exactly, but at least two tank divisions.

[ZERKALO] And the defenders of Groznyy?

[Susayev] You know, we have a movable, mobile army, and our losses have been meager. By the way, our army is not fighting. Only the Chechen special services and the home guard are participating in combat actions. The regular army is being held in reserve, since we know that heavy reinforcements are coming for the Russian Army from the Far East.

[ZERKALO] Who makes up the home guard?

[Susayev] All of the adult population of Chechnya, including adolescents, women, and the elderly, are fighting.

[ZERKALO] But how many? One hundred thousand? Two hundred thousand?

[Susayev] In all, there are 750,000 Chechens, and something like 600,000 of them are fighting. Volunteers are coming from all over the former Soviet Union. Already, 200 volunteers have come from Ukraine and Belarus. In general, all decent people have understood the essence of Russian democracy, and specifically of Yeltsin and his team. With the aggression against Chechnya, the Russian Government has signed its own sentence. Turkey is ready to supply us with military equipment, aviation, and ammunition. Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Iraq, and Iran have exactly the same kind of intentions.

[ZERKALO] Are you sure that these states will go for open military support of Chechnya?

[Susayev] They are already prepared for this. And, as I have said, volunteers are arriving from many countries.

[ZERKALO] Volunteers are one thing, but military support at the state level is completely different.

[Susayev] Secret state support is already going on, and all states, including Azerbaijan, are ready to render humanitarian aid to Chechnya. The whole world is thunderstruck at Russia's arrogance. I have with me a photograph capturing the moment when representatives of the world press were shown documents taken from officers of the FCS [Federal Counterintelligence Service], ordering the complete physical destruction of the nation.

[ZERKALO] Do you think that Russia will embark on such a step?

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[Susayev] We are not sure. But as far as the Russian Government is concerned, it would have done it if it had had the power.

[ZERKALO] How long could this conflict continue?

[Susayev] The war will go on until the Russian troops clear back out of Chechnya.

[ZERKALO] In what state is the morale of the Chechen home guard?

[Susayev] The fighting spirit of Chechnya's defenders is at a high pitch. The Chechens have merged together into a single fist, forming a monolith.

[ZERKALO] Even the opposition?

[Susayev] Yes, even the opposition.

[ZERKALO] And how much longer can Groznyy hold out? The most recent reports from the Russian mass media speak about how Groznyy is just about to fall.

[Susayev] Even if Groznyy falls, the matter will not end there. There is a reservoir near Groznyy, and it is mined. Everyone who is in Groznyy after the reservoir's dam is blown up will find himself under seven or eight meters of water. I repeat—we will not become a colony of Russia's for a second time.

[ZERKALO] And what will happen to the oil refinery, where 40,000 liters of black oil is concentrated? And the ammonia factory?

[Susayev] We will blow them up, so that Russia does not get them. It is that simple.

[ZERKALO] That is, a jihad?

[Susayev] That is absolutely right.

[ZERKALO] To the victorious finish?

[Susayev] Allah akbar.

[ZERKALO] And the Ukrainians from UNO-UNSO?

[Susayev] There are UNSO [Ukrainian National Self-Defense Forces] people; I know the commander of their formation personally. In general, one can say that not only Chechens are fighting in Groznyy, but all decent people who are fed up with Russia's "big brotherhood." Enough! Now the score is going to be kept using the big numbers. They have already ended badly, and the further they go, the worse it will get. I repeat once more—we have nothing to lose and nowhere to retreat. Whereas they do have something to lose.

[ZERKALO] Certain representatives of the Russian leadership maintain that the Chechens have worked out a plan of widespread terror against the Russians, and that after the fall of Groznyy, this plan will begin to turn into reality.

[Susayev] First of all, Groznyy cannot fall. If such a blow is inflicted on Chechnya, we will blow up all of our nuclear arsenal on our territory. Nuclear warheads are a powerful argument against dull-headed Russians.

[ZERKALO] Frankly speaking, that is difficult to believe. Where did Groznyy get nuclear warheads?

[Susayev] Bought them.

[ZERKALO] Bought them, or were they left over from the Soviet Union?

[Susayev] Well, that is not important. The main thing is that they are there.

[ZERKALO] It is maintained that you are making ready to do away with all of the near and dear of the Russian pilots who are bombing Groznyy.

[Susayev] We have our own special forces. Our saboteurs and reconnaissance groups are being dispatched to work against the villains who are inflicting missile strikes on the civilian population exclusively. Why should we not kill their near and dear? What right do they have to make war on us? Do we really have no right to our independence?

[ZERKALO] You are located on the territory of Russia....

[Susayev] No, no, no.

[ZERKALO] Juridically, that is so.

[Susayev] For 300 years, Russia belonged to the Tatars. So, what then—would they give Moscow over to the Tatars? I can tell you one thing: No one had the right to cut Karabakh from Azerbaijan. That was sabotage done by the FCS. We have the corresponding documentation on that topic. In the same way, they cut off Abkhazia at one time. That is the persecution and ethnocide of everyone who lives in the Caucasus. You understand, this is all the work of the FCS of Russia.

[ZERKALO] Do Dagestan, North Ossetia, and Ingushetia acknowledge themselves to be components of Russia?

[Susayev] If a few people or leaders acknowledge that, it does not mean that everyone does.

Economic Issues

Foreign Trade Grew in 1994, Balance Was Positive

MM2001143395 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 20 Jan 95 p 1

[Unattributed report from the "News In Today's Edition" roundup: "There Is Something Positive in Our Life"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In 1994, the volume of Russia's export-import operations increased by $5.1 billion. Russia's foreign trade turnover last year came to $76,223 million, which is 7.2 percent up on 1993's indicators, a

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BIZNES-TASS correspondent was told at the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. At the same time, the balance of foreign trade was $19.8 billion in the black.

Elimination of Oil Export Quotas Likely To Prove 'Fiction'

MK2101111095 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 Jan 95 p 2

[Report by Vadim Bardin: "Oil Export. Yuriy Shafranik May Assess Oil Tenders in His Own Way"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This is not the first time that KOMMERSANT-DAILY has turned to the results of the latest competitive tenders for oil exports under the Russian Government's 1995 commitments. That the participants in the competition held in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Ministry 6 January were told about its official results as late as yesterday is not so important. Much more important is another thing—as the story develops, it is becoming increasingly clear that, first, the real control levers are going to the Ministry of Fuel and Energy; and second, the elimination of export quotas may quite probably prove a fiction.

The appearance of the government decree "On the Export of Oil and Oil Products Beginning 1 January 1995" was preceded by a war between the advocates of tough state control who are acting under the motto of protecting the domestic market and Russia's economic security, and those who still remember the Russian memorandum forwarded last September to the World Bank and couched in the spirit of economic liberalism. If one compares the decree with what was hoped for, one may see that a compromise has been reached: special exporters have been retained in exchange for foregoing not only their export quotas but also the rigid linkage proposed by the Fuel and Energy Ministry between access to the export pipelines and the commitment to supply at least 65 percent of oil produced to oil refiners. The Fuel and Energy Ministry's proposals, obviously, revived export quotas which now serve to restrict access to the pipe. Besides, in this case, go-between exporters would find themselves denied access to it.

Rejoicing at the rejection of the Fuel and Energy Ministry's draft proved short-lived. The winners of the competitive tenders do not regard their results as final. They think the Fuel and Energy Ministry may in practice ignore the competitions (their results are enshrined in agreements between an exporter, the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, and the Finance Ministry) and deny the winners access to the oil pipelines. These fears are well-founded. Those seeking to handle supplies under the government commitments are go- between exporters alone. As for the Fuel and Energy Ministry, it has constantly been upholding the idea that oil should be exported by its producers. The new regulation system rather enables the Fuel and Energy Ministry to put into effect its long-held intentions. According to traders [last word in English], Shafranik brought to the oil producers' attention export rates which on the whole duplicate the projected internal quotas—the very same 65 percent of oil produced should be delivered to Russian oil refineries if one wishes to be cleared for exporting. Much as KOMMERSANT-DAILY predicted, the bloc of Vice Premier Oleg Davydov and Fuel Ministry chief Yuriy Shafranik developed a crack as soon as things moved from upholding export-regulation methods based on other than tariffs to dividing the spheres of control over oil exports.

Panskov 'Optimistic' on Prospects for IMF Loans

LD2001212195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1952 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By BUSINESS-TASS correspondent Robert Serebrennikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—"I am optimistic about prospects for loans of the International Monetary Fund," Russian Minister of Finance Vladimir Panskov told BUSINESS- TASS today.

If the State Duma adopts the 1995 draft budget submitted by the government with due account of all changes and amendments, negotiations with the imf will result in signing of an agreement on issuance of loans to Russia, said Panskov.

He noted that Russia has fulfilled the requirements of international fiscal organizations on the amount of the Russian budget deficit.

Asked whether the International Monetary Fund will cut loans to Russia in connection with the current Russian situation, Panskov said "I think everything will be all right. If we get the loans we will get a full amount of them".

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International Affairs

Agreements Signed With Belarusian Defense Ministry

LD2001181995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Jan 19 (INTERFAX-UKRAINE)—The Defense Ministries of Ukraine and Belarus signed protocols on organization of inter-state railroad transportation and payment for it, on cooperation between the Kiev Air Force Institute and the Minsk Higher Military Engineering School and on joint research and development for the Air Force.

These documents were signed during the visit of a Belarusian Defense Ministry delegation headed by Major General Yuriy Portov, an aide to the defense minister in charge of military policy.

The Ukrainian negotiating team was headed by Major General Georgiy Pankratov, deputy chief of the General Staff, officials in the Defense Ministry press center told Interfax-Ukraine.

The two teams also agreed on a plan of cooperation between the two ministries.

Nationalists Criticize Kuchma's Upcoming Visit to Moscow

LD2101214495 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1945 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 21 Jan—Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma's intention to visit Moscow "gives grounds to believe that certain circles in the presidential entourage are continuing the line of Ukraine's feudal dependence on the Moscow imperial center," a statement, made public by the leadership of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, emphasizes.

"At a time when, on Boris Yeltsin's orders the whole of Chechnya's people are being brutally destroyed and Russian official circles did not manage to recognize our state's territorial integrity during the whole of the negotiating process and are conducting a policy of energy pressure on Ukraine, such a visit will be assessed not only as a demonstration of impermissible support for Moscow's criminal policy in the northern Caucasus, but also as a demonstration of official Kiev's weakness in standing up for Ukrainian national interests," the Ukrainian nationalists believe.

National Affairs

Kuchma Cited on Media, Economy, Crime

MM2001110995 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 95 p 2

[Report by correspondent Viktor Drozd: "Press No Servant to Capital"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zhitomir—Leonid Kuchma's speech to a conference of editors of oblast, city, and rayon newspapers held here in Zhitomir was intended not only to comment on the socioeconomic situation in Ukraine but also to enlist the Fourth Estate's support in the implementation of the strategy he has announced. The president notably said the following:

Isn't Fawning Sickening?

"...The key features of a democratic society are not just a legislature, a strong executive, and a judiciary dependent solely on the law, which are forged by the people, but also a Fourth Estate which is independent and enjoys high standing. I stress: A free and independent Fourth Estate is one which does not accommodate itself to the powers that be or change its political criteria with a change of state leaders. I therefore want to assure you right away that I do not share certain of the 'expressions of loyalty' already voiced in this hall."

We Have No Survival Stocks

"I will say frankly—and I would like fo the mass media to reflect this idea—that this year will be the most crucial in our economic policy. Either we redress the situation and stop the crisis processes deteriorating and bringing further impoverishment to the population, or complete economic collapse awaits us. We have no survival stocks to fall back on. The alternative to this is to print money again. But that is self-deception. And people are already well aware of that. It means inflation, which only benefits speculators. It means greater impoverishment of those who live by their honest labor and wages alone. I will not take that route, no matter what criticism I receive—from right or left."

Second Stage of New Economic Policy

"This newly begun year must be a breakthrough year.... Reducing the pressure of taxes on commodity producers will be the main lever for implementing this policy. It was not easy to decide on such a step, since it directly reduces budget revenue. But we are doing this in accordance with the basic principles of our economic strategy. And this constitutes the second stage of the new economic policy. The claims by certain top officials that the peasants are against reforms whereby the land and what is produced on it belong to those who work it can only cause surprise. The charges that I intend to squander the land are also unfounded."

January. No Retreat

"Only strong and effective executive power is capable of resisting the 'tidal wave of crisis' engulfing the Ukrainian economy. Such power will be created regardless of the development of events in parliament. The draft law on power has had its first reading. There is hope that compromises acceptable to both the majority of the factions and the president will be found. The question of

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a new system of state power must be resolved this month. The threatening processes under way in society do not allow us to delay on this."

What Do the Fat Cats Live On?

"...I cannot yet describe the struggle against the 'Fifth Estate' as already ensuring society's recovery. We have checked the onslaught of the criminal clans only a little, to achieve a fragile equilibrium. Our adversaries will make up what they have lost, and pretty quickly too."

Society Needs Accord

"Preserving civil peace and accord in Ukraine is another problem demanding our concerted efforts. This line has to be maintained. Preparation for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War—our greatest festive occasion—also enjoins us to this."

Journalists' Duty

"I personally see the press as a social barometer. And if the readings on the barometer do not please some people, that in no way means that it needs to be smashed or can be disregarded. It is no secret for many of us that certain publications and journalists are in the pay of commercial structures, whose capital is not always earned by honest labor. Articles commissioned for the sole purpose of discrediting those who oppose crime and seek to prevent the theft of the people's assets have become a modern-day reality. It is almost impossible to remove these phenomena by means of legal mechanisms. The Fourth Estate can only get rid of them by clearing out its own ranks, practicing vigorous internal glasnost, and creating an atmosphere of professional intolerance toward such incidences."

Domestic Airline Monopoly Abolished

954K0448A Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian No 47, 30 Dec 94-6 Jan 95 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Kiev Was Forced To Hand Over a Part of the Ukrainian Skies to the Regions. A Presidential Edict Abolished the Ukrainian State Airline Company Avialiniyi Ukrayiny]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 21 December, Leonid Kuchma signed an edict "On Measures To Ensure the Development of Ukraine's Civil Aviation." The edict removed civil aviation from under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Transportation of Ukraine and created the State Department of Air Transport of Ukraine (UKRAVIATRANS). The newly created state department will engage in drafting target-oriented state programs, certifying users of civil aviation equipment, shaping the basic course of rate, financial, and scientific-technical policies, developing external economic relations, controlling the use of state property by civil aviation enterprises, and other matters. Oleksandr Marchenko, who held the job of deputy minister of transportation and director of the department of air transport, was appointed head of UKRAVIATRANS.

The edict upheld the initiative of the Donetsk, Kirovohrad, Luhansk, Lviv, Odessa, and Kharkiv airline enterprises and the DNIPROAVIA airline company to create the AVIALINIYI UKRAYINY [Ukrainian Airlines] state airline company. The Ukrainian State Airline Company [UDA] AVIALINIYI UKRAYINY has been abolished. It has been replaced by the newly created State Airline Company AVIALINIYI UKRAYINY, which was formed on the basis of the above structures and the regional divisions of the former airline company (Boryspil, Zhulyany, Vinnytsya, Zaporizhzhya, Khmelnytskyy, and Chernivtsi). The new AVIALINIYI UKRAYINY company has a fundamentally different structure than its predecessor: Each airline enterprise is a member of the company as a separate legal entity. The newly created structure is the legal heir of the Ukrainian State Airline Company AVIALINIYI UKRAYINY, including of the right to be the designated air carrier of Ukraine. (The edict makes no mention of the share in the charter fund of the International Airlines of Ukraine. The commander of the Lviv airline enterprise, Leontiy Zahreva, thinks that the share that belonged to the UDA will also be transferred to the new state airline company.) The managing body of the company is the Board of Directors, which consists of the directors of the legal entities that make up the company. The general director is appointed by the State Department of Air Transport, which is the founder of the company on the government's side.

In accordance with the edict, the Cabinet of Ministers is to work out a draft conception for the development of civil aviation to provide for the use of new aviation equipment, the construction of new and the reconstruction of existing airports, and the common use of civil and military airfields and aviation equipment, and to designate the enterprises and organizations that the state will continue to own because of their national significance, and other matters. The State Department of Air Transport is to review the justification for issuing certificates and licenses to the users of civil aviation, as well as the procedure for using state property by civil aviation enterprises.

Communists Oppose Kuchma, Voice Goals

954F0976A Simferopol KRYMSKIYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 95 p 1

[Text of the statement of the communist faction of Crimean deputies in the Ukrainian parliament]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Statement of the People's Deputies of Ukraine Elected From the Republic of Crimea, Members of the Faction "Communists of Ukraine for Social Justice and People's Power"

We, the people's deputies of Ukraine from the Republic of Crimea, rejecting President L. Kuchma's course

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toward changing, contrary to the people's will, the sociopolitical system of the country and restoration of capitalism, hereby announce that in the Supreme Council of Ukraine we will insist on:

—Concrete steps aimed at saving Ukraine and Crimea from a catastrophe, raising public production, resolving acute social problems, establishing social justice and strict compliance with laws, uprooting corruption and mafiosi crime;

—That the Supreme Council of Ukraine consider the appeal of the Crimean Supreme Council, Sevastopol and Kerch city, Lugansk Oblast, and other local councils of people's deputies demanding denunciation of the Belovezha agreements and beginning work on the restoration of a single state;

—Organizing mass support for the councils and preventing adoption of the presidential draft of the constitutional law of Ukraine "On the State Authority and Local Self-Rule in Ukraine," since this draft law represents an offensive against the most democratic form of people's power—councils of people's deputies, represents an attempt to establish authoritarian presidential authority in Ukraine, and tramples the rights of legislative and judiciary authority and organs of local self-rule. The draft practically eliminates the councils and all democratic institutions, and tramples the fundamental law of Ukraine—the Constitution.

We pronounce that we will continue to stand in defense of the constitutional system and people's power.

[Signed] A.V. Bobrinev, electoral district No. 43 (Sevastopol);

A.P. Zhumykin, electoral district No. 24 (Simferopol);

N.P. Pimenova, electoral district No. 42 (Simferopolskiy Rayon);

E.I. Pavlenko, electoral district No. 27 (Simferopol);

N.V. Pilipenko, electoral district No. 29 (Dzhankoy);

Yu.A. Miroshnichenko, electoral district No. 26 (Simferopol);

M.V. Doroshevskiy, electoral district No. 34 (Feodosiya).

Yalta City Council Supports Reunification

954F0963A Simferopol KRYMSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jan 95 p 1

["Appeal of Yalta City Council of People's Deputies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The signing of the Belovezh agreement in December of 1991, despite the results of the national referendum of 17 March 1991, led to the collapse of the multinational Soviet Union and to the disruption of the many years of integrated relations that were established between the former republics of the country.

The state of the economy and the living standard of the people in Ukraine continue to decrease, and the measures undertaken by the government are not producing positive results. All of this is leading to an increasingly greater impoverishment of the people, a majority of whom have been cast below the poverty line.

The crisis situation that has developed does not suit anyone, and with each day the aspiration is getting broader in the CIS states, including among Crimeans and the residents of Yalta, for a speedy reunion of the people and a unification of the republics, while maintaining the state independence of each republic.

Considering the economic, political, and military necessity for the closest integration and the aspiration of the people everywhere for unification, with the elimination of borders, customs, and other artificial disuniting barriers, we appeal to the Supreme Councils of Ukraine and the Crimea with an urgent demand to adopt the necessary measures for the unification of the republics of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. **Adopted at the 25th session of the Yalta city council of people's deputies on 5 January 1995.**

Law on Recall of Deputies Examined

954f0963b Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 95 p 1

[Article by O. Volodin: "Actually! A Law on the Recall of Deputies Is Being Prepared"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This was reported at a meeting of the presidium of the Supreme Council of Crimea, which was held day before yesterday, by P. Morgunov, the leader of the parliamentary commission that is working on the preparation of this draft law. Specialists of the Central Electoral Commission of the Republic of Crimea also participated in the work on the law, which regulates the procedure for recalling a deputy of the Supreme Council of Crimea. In addition, a similar draft was also proposed by a group of deputies whose membership includes L. Grach, the first deputy of the republican committee of the Communist Party of Crimea.

Such an active participation of Crimean parliamentarians in the preparation of the law that would enable voters to recall their representatives earlier than the term established for them, of course, refutes the arguments of those who reproached the present Supreme Council of Crimea for being "out of touch with the masses" and for desiring at any price to preserve the deputy regalia.

But it turns out that it is much easier to elect a deputy than to recall him. Article 110 of the Constitution of the Republic of Crimea concerning deputy authorities does not even hint at their early termination on the basis of the desires of the voters who are disappointed in the

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activity of one or another deputy. Therefore, even if the Law on the Recall of a Deputy will be adopted by the Supreme Council of Crimea, then in the event of its application, any parliamentarian who does not desire to leave the deputy corps can fully appeal to the Basic Law of Crimea. It is obvious that, together with the adoption of the Law on the Recall of a Deputy, it will be necessary also to make appropriate changes and additions to Article 110 of the Constitution of Crimea.

During the discussions of the draft law at the meeting of the presidium of the Supreme Council, proposals were also heard, as is often said, to bring the future law closer to the realities of life. There was talk about the fact, for example, that the procedure that lasts a year for recalling a deputy elected to a one-seat district does not meet these realities. It was proposed to reduce the time for this procedure in half; that is, to a half-year.

While, in those one-seat districts, the mechanism itself for recalling deputies in whom confidence has been lost is simple and clear (the one who elected is the one who recalls), then in multiseat districts the matter seems to be more complicated at present. For example, according to the party list, the Rossiya bloc received a majority in parliament. All of Crimea voted for representatives of this bloc, but it turns out now that to recall its individual deputies and to fill their "vacancies" falls to a narrow party circle.

In general, there are debatable instances in the new draft law, and this means that it has to be revised. It was decided at a meeting of the presidium of the Crimean parliament to submit the draft Law on the Recall of a Deputy for discussion at the present session. A majority of the members of the presidium are inclined to the idea that it is first necessary to adopt the law and then to introduce changes to the Constitution of Crimea. The main thing that is apparent is that the political situation itself on the peninsula dictates the need for the speedy adoption of such a law. In addition, there are grounds for supposing that the appearance of this draft law on the agenda of the session of the Supreme Council of Crimea will somewhat cool parliamentary passions, especially in those factions that continuously accuse the parliamentary leadership that is "satiated with power" of efforts to avoid an examination of a question that allegedly is ticklish and unpleasant for it.

Crimeans Polled on Political Party Support

954F0963C Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 95 p 1

[Article by Yu. Prozorov and S. Yefimov, KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA: "Sociological Service 'Krymsotsis'; Crimeans: Authority, Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Question: Which of the parties or social movements listed below are you inclined to support now?

Party	Percentage
Democratic Party of Crimea	2.82
Communist Party of Crimea	8.86
Crimean Party of Social Guarantees	1.31
National Party of Crimea	2.01
National Crimean Tatar Movement (NDKT)	4.93
Crimean-Tatar National Movement Organization (OKND)	4.03
Crimean Economic Revival Party (PEVK)	6.45
Russian Party of Crimea	4.93
Republican Party of Crimea (RPK/RDK)	5.14
Russian Language Movement of Crimea	1.41
Rukh [Popular Movement of Ukraine]	1.81
Union in Support of the Republic of Crimea (SPRK)	2.22
Other	1.71
Difficult to answer	48.64
Gave no answer	3.73

During the polling, which was conducted jointly with the Center for Regional Development in five rural rayons of the Crimea, 993 persons were polled. The selective sample reflected the main parameters of the Crimean population according to sex, age, education, native language, and type of settlement.

Economic Issues

Kravchuk Issues Edict To Implement Farm Reforms

LD2001182395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Jan 20 (INTERFAX-UKRAINE)—President Leonid Kravchuk on Friday [20 January] issued a decree on measures to transform relations in the farming sector.

Farmers are free to sell their produce to the state, on stock exchanges, trading houses, purchasing or brokerage agencies.

And so are foreigners investors into production, processing and storage of farm products except grain. They are exempt from export quotas and licensing.

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The National Bank of Ukraine (NBU) is instructed to arrange the sale of futures and forward contracts for farm products by the Ukrainian Interbank Currency Exchange until a system of agricultural exchanges is set up.

The NBU is also recommended to resolve the question of commercial credits to farm producers with a future harvest set aside as collateral.

Kuchma To Go to Moscow To Solve 'Urgent' Economic Problems

WS2301114695 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0125 GMT 22 Jan 95

[Report by Halia Pavliva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Jan. 21—President Leonid Kuchma will go to Moscow Tuesday to solve urgent economic problems "which cannot be resolved on any other level," according to Deputy Prime Minister Ihor Mituikov.

Mituikov said Saturday that Kuchma is to depart for Moscow from Uzhorod after taking part in a meeting of the Council of Regions—a body of oblast officials reporting to the president on implementation of his initiatives.

Mituikov, who is to take part in the Moscow talks, refused to answer journalists' requests for a definitive confirmation as to the timing and itinerary of Kuchma's plan to meet with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"Russia has been remained our main trade partner, but we don't have a bilateral treaty on trade and economic relations," he said, announcing that the Ukrainian Foreign Trade Ministry is preparing proposals for the establishment of free trade regime between the two countries. The propositions are supposed to be presented by the Ukrainian delegation on Tuesday.

Ukraine is also interested in working out a mechanism of repayment of current debts and its delegation will initiate a discussion on restructuring the Ukrainian debt to Russia, he said.

"Ninety eight percent of Ukraine's foreign debt is debt to Russia," Mituikov said.

He also expressed the hope that a treaty on the transportation of natural gas transportation to Ukraine through Russian territory could be signed during this Kuchma's visit to Moscow, arguing that this took on added urgency in the wake of Turkmenistan's decision this week to resume gas supplies.

"Today gas can be supplied to Ukraine only through Russian territory. This means that gas to Ukraine could be supplied only under Russia's agreement," said Mituikov.

"Ukraine's energy supply was renewed this week, reaching maximum levels Wednesday totaling 45 million cubic meters per day," according to Dmytro Tabachnyk, presidential chief-of-staff. A tentative agreement was reached Saturday on the gas transit situation as a result of Kuchma's "active steps," according to Mituikov, who refused to answer whether the president conducted personal meetings or telephone diplomacy in solving the problem.

"It was his, not my, actions. That is why I cannot answer this question," said Mitiukov.

Cabinet Claims 10% of Fixed Capital Privatized

AU2001182095 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 19 Jan 95 p 1

[Report attributed to INTERFAX-UKRAYINA: "The Presidium of the Cabinet of Ministers Has Generally Approved the Draft State Privatization Program for 1995"]

[FBIS Translated Text] INTERFAX-UKRAYINA has been informed by the Cabinet of Ministers Press Service that the draft program envisages privatization of 22,700 facilities in 1995, including 13,500 small enterprises, 8,000 medium and large ones, and 1,200 unfinished construction projects. In addition, work has been specified for creating a network of centers that will hold certificate auctions for selling shares to citizens in return for property privatization certificates.

After amendments, the draft privatization program will be submitted to the Supreme Council for discussion.

According to the information of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers, at least 10 percent of the country's fixed capital has already been privatized; this amounted to 4,201 facilities by the beginning of last December.

Recently, the Ukrainian president signed an edict to speed up the process of small privatization. It is planned to complete the small privatization in 1995. Leaseholder organizations have been granted the right not to privatize leased property through redemption until 1 June 1995.

EBRD President Notes Steady Progress in Economic Reforms

LD1901210695 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1440 GMT 19 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—"We rely on the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in reforming our society and eliminating the negative balance of payments," said president Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine at a meeting with EBRD President Jacques de Larosiere on 19 January.

Mr. de Larosiere shared his impression of the progress of reforms in Ukraine noting that his visit would have been impossible a year ago.

According to Oleksandr Savchenko, Ukraine's representative at the European Bank, the Bank set a record in its

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relations with post-Communist countries by investing some $200 million in this short space of time.

"If reforms in Ukraine proceed at the same rate, with the budget deficit reduced and inflation at less than 10 percent a month, the EBRD will be able to approve projects worth a total of $400 million and will begin financing them in Ukraine," he said.

Meanwhile, UNIAN has learned that (Yaroslav Kinakh) was appointed the new EBRD representative in Ukraine.

Energy Crises Worsening in Oblast, Gas Prices Doubled

WS2001155995 Kiev KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 11 Jan 95 p 8

[Report by Stepan Panayotov: "Kherson Oblast Returns to Candles and Kerosene"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The energy crisis in Kherson Oblast is worsening. The principal local energy supplier, the Kherson Thermoelectric Station, has a stockpile of black oil that will only ensure two days of uninterrupted work. Pressure in the gas pipeline fell below the critical point, automatically turning off heating systems in thousands of private houses. The situation with electricity is as bad: its supply is disrupted for three hours every day, and some places even for the whole night.

The oblast authorities shrewdly thought about the future and started to hastily look for scapegoats as to whom they could shift all the blame for the present situation. At the initiative of the interministerial commission in charge of the fuel and energy complex, N. Desyatnikov and V. Churkin, directors of the "Khersonneft" and "Obltoplivo" amalgamations, respectively, were discharged from their positions. Churkin's resignation is also linked to the already initiated investigation into the large-scale theft of coal stored in the "Obltoplivo" warehouses.

Bracing for even worse times, Kherson residents are replenishing their stockpiles of candles and kerosene. Over the past week, prices for those commodities doubled.

Economic Overview of First 11 Months of 94

WS1901155095 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 1936 GMT 15 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NOTE: The figures quoted in this article reflect only the performance of the officially-recorded state sector. The shadow economy, which by most estimates is growing, is not represented.

Budget

Central and local budget revenues for the first 10 months of 1994 were 360.7 trillion karbovanetses [K], or 107.4 percent of projections and 86.3 percent of projected earnings for all of 1994.

Value Added Tax contributed K90.3 trillion to the budget in the first 10 months of the year. In the same period, income tax on enterprises raised about K107.9 trillion, the excise tax raised K11.8 trillion, personal income tax K24.5 trillion, foreign trade K11.7 trillion, and K61.1 trillion came in the form of pension fund taxes.

Including regional government budgets, consumer spending in the first 10 months of the year was K430.7 trillion, 120.5 percent of projections for the period and 103 percent of projected expenditures for the year.

Social protection spending was K42.5 trillion, about 9.9 percent of total expenditures. Other expenditures included state investments in the economy—K135.4 trillion (31.4 percent), social-cultural developments—K84.5 trillion (19.6 percent), and pension fund expenditures—K58.5 trillion.

The combined central and local budget deficit in the first 10 months of 1994 was more than K70 trillion.

Central budget earnings during the first 10 months of 1994 were K234.4 trillion, 83.4 percent of projections for the period and 66.5 percent of projections for the whole year. The central budget expenditures were K321.9 trillion or 109.4 percent and 94.1 percent of projections, respectively.

To provide for timely payoffs by local authorities, the government had given out short-term loans to some regions, including K369 billion in short-term loans to Crimea and K12.9 trillion in subventions to regions.

To cover the gap between central budget revenue and spending, the National Bank of Ukraine [NBU] issued K107.9 trillion worth of credits. In addition, K15.2 trillion went to the government "to stabilize the financial situation," according to the report.

By Nov. 1 K5.7 trillion credits had been returned to the NBU by the government, pushing the total volume of credits given by the NBU to the Finance Ministry to K117.4 trillion for the first 10 months of 1994.

Banking and Finance

Total credit investments from banking institutions in the Ukrainian economy were K248 trillion as of Nov. 1, including K127 trillion from the National Bank of Ukraine, K121 trillion from commercial banks and K210 billion from CIS commercial bank branches in Ukraine.

Some K59 trillion worth of credits were issued by commercial banks in hard currency.

The average annual interest rate charged by commercial banks in October was 141.4 percent, 141.6 percent in September, 151.3 percent in August and 310 percent in January.

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The average annual interest rate commercial banks issued for depositing money dropped to 108.1 percent in October, from 126.8 percent in September, and 224 percent in January.

The National Bank of Ukraine lent some K5 trillion to commercial banks as of Nov. 1. The average annual interest rate at which the NBU lent money to commercial banks in October was 115.6 percent, up from 48.2 percent in September and 97.5 percent in August.

Enterprise Finances

The indebtedness of Ukrainian enterprises to business entities in the former Soviet Union increased markedly during the first 10 months of 1994. Accounts payable increased by 290 percent, hitting K48.2 trillion as of Nov. 1, while accounts receivable increased by 110 percent to K11.6 trillion.

As of October, Ukrainian enterprises owed Russian organizations K44.5 trillion, a 340 percent year-to-date increase. Accounts payable to businesses in Turkmenistan—the second largest natural gas supplier to Ukraine—rose by 0.6 percent in October, to K1.1 trillion, an 8.4 percent drop from Jan. 1.

Accounts payable between domestic enterprises and authorities in the first 10 months of 1994 rose by 260 percent (10.6 percent in October alone) to K464.1 trillion. Accounts receivable increased by 250 percent (3.5 percent in October) in the same period, hitting K351.8 trillion.

Late payments increased by 600 percent (by 100 percent in October alone) to K88.1 trillion, as of Nov. 1. Of this sum, K76.3 trillion, or 86.6 percent, were late payments between domestic enterprises, and K11.8 trillion, or 13.4 percent, were late payments for bank loans.

Inflation

Wholesale prices of industrial goods rose 390 percent in the first 11 months, while in November alone prices increased 100 percent. Agricultural product wholesale prices rose 250 percent in the first 11 months of 1994. Poultry and livestock prices increased 140 percent, milk and dairy products by 150 percent, and eggs 260 percent. In November alone, agricultural product prices increased 40 percent.

Railroad cargo transportation costs increased by 200 percent in the first 11 months of the year (79.7 percent in November), while automobile transportation costs increased 180 percent in the period (71.7 percent in November).

Passenger transportation prices rose 730 percent in the first 11 months of 1994 (97.6 percent in November).

The consumer price inflation posted in November went through the roof, hitting 72.3 percent—the highest level registered in 1994. Monthly inflation in October was 22.6 percent, up from 2.6 percent in August and 2.1 percent in July.

Industrial Performance

Ukraine produced 3.8 million tons of oil and 16.7 billion cubic meters of natural gas in the first 11 months of 1994. This is 1.2 percent and 5 percent, respectively, less than in the same period a year ago.

UkraNafta, the largest oil producer in Ukraine, sold 2.2 million tons of oil, and 9.8 billion cubic meters of natural gas, to the government according to the state contract.

Ukraine produced 181.8 billion kilowatt hours of electricity in the first 11 months of 1994, including 61.4 billion kilowatt hours by nuclear power plants. These are 12.4 percent and 10.9 percent declines, respectively, in comparison with the same period of 1993. Hydroelectric power plants increased production by 10.5 percent in the period, generating 11.6 billion kilowatts of electricity.

Metallurgy was hit hard in the period. Rolled metal production declined by 18 percent in November alone, while steel pipe output dropped by 9 percent. The monthly output of pig iron, steel and iron-ore was the lowest in several years, according to the report.

The livestock breeding industry is declining in Ukraine, which resulted in meat production falling by 12 percent; milk, 6 percent; and eggs, 23 percent.

The government bought about 1.8 million tons of meat and poultry in the period, 21 percent less than a year ago. The government also bought some 8.1 million tons of milk (at a 19 percent price reduction) and 3.3 billion eggs (off by 29 percent).

Consumer Market

Ukraine's consumer goods production fell by 27.3 percent during the first 11 months of 1994, in comparison with the same period in 1993. Manufactured goods' output dropped 41.4 percent—a slight improvement from the January-October period's 44.1 percent.

Food production fell by 17.5 percent in the first 11 months of 1994 compared to the same period last year, up from the 17 percent decline between January and October: Meat and meat products output fell 20 percent; milk products dropped 25.4 percent; vegetable oil dropped 24.1 percent; flour by 13.7 percent; and butter by 19.5 percent.

Ukraine's sugar factories processed 26.8 million tons of beet sugar, which is 16 percent less than in the same period last year. Retail trade turnover was K260.8 trillion (in adjusted prices) during the first 11 months of 1994, down to 88.6 percent from the same period last year. In November alone, retail trade turnover declined 12.6 percent.

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Living Standard

The population's total earnings in the first 10 months of 1994 hit K48.4 trillion, up 150 percent from the beginning of the year.

However, price increases caused the population's income in real terms to drop by 17 percent in October compared to September. Monthly earnings in October averaged K929,000, up from K905,000, K801,000 in August and K370,000 in January. Meanwhile, due to the increased exchange rate between the karbovanets and the dollar, earnings in hard-currency have dropped by 27.9 percent from US$12.9 in September to US$9.29 in October.

The average monthly salary in Ukraine's state-run industry was K1.89 million (US$18.9) in October, up 54.7 percent in karbovanets terms and 8 percent in dollar terms from September. The highest salaries were in the nuclear power industry, coal and oil extraction, financial institutions, insurance and construction industries.

Consumer goods and service prices rose by 290 percent during the period, while in November alone they increased by 72.3 percent.

Food prices in November increased by 110 percent, up from 17.6 percent in October and 6.7 percent in September. Manufactured goods prices rose by 50 percent in November (16 percent in October).

Prices for services increased 40 percent in November, compared to a 67 percent increase in October.

Foreign Trade

Ukrainian foreign trade turnover during the first 10 months of 1994 was US$16.93 billion, including exports worth US$8.30 billion and imports worth US$8.63 billion. The foreign trade deficit was US$321.5 million, down from US$464 million in the first nine months.

Ukraine's trade with the CIS in the first 10 months of 1994 was US$11.15 billion, including exports worth US$4.72 billion and imports worth US$6.43 billion. The trade deficit in the period was US$1.7 billion, up from US$1.61 billion.

Ukraine's trade with non-CIS countries was US$5.78 billion, including US$3.58 billion in exports and US$2.2 billion in imports. The surplus in trade with these countries was US$1.38 billion, up from US$1.15 billion in September.

Changes to Crimea's Tax Legislation Viewed

954F0964C Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by I. Dyakov: "Taxes Reduced"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister of the Crimean Government A. Franchuk signed a very important decree "On the Value-Added Tax Rate." The document emphasized that its purpose is the implementation of the Crimean Supreme Council's decree dated 16 June 1993 "On Forming An Open Economy on the Territory of the Republic of Crimea" and the president of Ukraine's decree of creating such an economy here.

This government decree sets the value-added tax rate here at 20 percent, beginning 1 January. Let us remember that the old rate was 28 percent.

Why was the new document, which lightens the tax burden on the subjects of economic activities, adopted with such delay? There are many reasons for it. There were concerns that a reduced VAT rate would result in a sharp decline of revenue coming into the Crimean budget. There also was, however, another viewpoint: that reducing the VAT rate would result in activation of economic activities, and, as a result, the republic treasure would gain rather than lose. This viewpoint prevailed.

There also was the impact of favorable results of the tax experiment conducted at a number of enterprises. For instance, thanks to VAT reduction, vehicles manufactured by the Gorkiy Auto Works and sold by the KrymavoGAZservis joint-stock society became cheaper here than in other regions of Ukraine. Their sales picked up, and transfers into the republic budget increased.

The new Crimean Government was persistent in its intent to change the tax system. On the basis of its proposals, the Crimean Supreme Council on 2 December adopted the decree "On Some Questions of Reforming an Open Economy." It directly envisaged changing tax rates.

Let us hope that the official Kiev will not object to the lightening of the tax burden in Crimea. There are certain concerns in this respect. The president of Ukraine emphasized that the budget that will be adopted for this year will be the leanest as compared to previous ones. As the head of the state put it, "numerous tax preferences" will be repealed. Time will show how independent Crimea is in conducting its tax, budget, and economic policy in general. The important part is to improve the way things go in the national economy—then the government will feel more confident too.

Financial Stabilization Commission Formed

954F0964B Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by I. Andreyev: "Counting on Stabilization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Crimean Government issued a decree on forming an interagency commission on the issues of financial stabilization and developing foreign currency and stock markets. The task of this commission will be to implement comprehensive analysis of the situation and to prepare proposals for the government on overcoming the nonpayments crisis and

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improving investment and credit relations, circulation of bills of exchange, and financial and stock markets. It will strive to increase the effectiveness of financial resources utilization and the banking and finance system.

Drafts of government decisions on the questions falling within the commission's competence must be submitted to the commission for review. Also, commission's decisions approved by the government are to be carried out on a mandatory basis by all bodies of state authority located in Crimea. This should strengthen the executive discipline.

Deputy Prime Minister A. Senchenko was appointed the commission chairman. Its deputies are Crimean Minister of Finance V. Apananskiy and Minister of Economics V. Shishkin. The commission includes high-ranking officials of a number of republic ministries and agencies.

By another government decree, a commission on power generation was formed. This commission makes decisions on questions involving the regulation of power consumption and establishing appropriate policies, and it coordinates enterprises' operation during the fall-winter period. The commission's decisions are mandatory for all enterprises, organizations, and institutions regardless of the form of ownership.

The commission has the right to summon heads of various units and local bodies of executive authority to report on matters of power supply. It applies to violators all sanctions, up to shutting off the power supply; assigns to republic and local bodies of authorities dealing with individual issues involving the shortage of energy resources. The commission reviews materials on the causes and consequences of emergency situations in the environment of electric power shortages and submits proposals to relevant bodies on the liability of officials at whose fault emergency situations develop.

Deputy prime minister A. Demidenko was appointed the commission chairman.

National Bank Impedes Currency Exchange

954F0964A Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by V. Matveyeva: "National Bank of Ukraine at Fault for Banks Losing Business to Foreign Currency 'Black Market'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Many Simferopol residents were probably surprised at the changes that took place at bank foreign currency exchange offices.**

Many of them had been closed for business lately. The reason is the National Bank of Ukraine's [NBU] decree, which prohibited banks to turn away clients wishing to buy and sell foreign currency on the grounds of shortage of cash—in karbovantsy or foreign currency. In the past, things were done this way: Before lunch the bank bought foreign currency, and after lunch sold what it bought. Another NBU's decree that deprives banks of flexibility prohibits them from changing foreign currency exchange rate during the day. In the black market, the exchange rate changes two-three times a day, while the banks, deprived of this ability, lose clients. The only goods news for the banks in the NBU decree is that they are permitted to increase the buy-sell spread from 5 to 10 percent.

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Belarus

Kozyrev Says Yeltsin Will Attend CIS Summit

LD2301124095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1216 GMT 23 Jan 95

[By BELINFORM correspondents Vladimir Glod and Aleksandr Lyushkevich for TASS]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk January 23 TASS—"Russia and Belarus manifest one of the most advanced versions of integration of independent states," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is currently here on an official visit, said on Monday [23 January].

Kozyrev believes that this integration version is determined by the common history, culture, economic and political interests of the two Slavic nations and that their favourable geographical position in the centre of Europe create prerequisites "to enable us to move with a certain lead with regard to other states to blaze the trail in a number of fields for the others, not to break away from them."

The minister emphasised that, in his view, the current trend is "robust convergence" of CIS states, not their drifting apart.

This was stated by Kozyrev after he visited the CIS Headquarters in the capital of Belarus. Matters connected with the determination and specifying of an agenda for a CIS foreign ministers' meeting, to be held on January 25, and a tentative agenda for a CIS summit in Almaty were discussed during his meeting with CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya.

Kozyrev pointed out that the events in Russia would not prevent President Boris Yeltsin from attending the CIS summit.

Minister Discusses Economic Agreements With Poland

LD2201150895 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1700 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] There was a meeting in Brest today between the heads of government of the republics of Belarus and Poland, Mikhail Chyhir and Waldemar Pawlak. A package of major agreements was signed on cooperation between the two neighboring Slav countries. Our correspondent Anatol Palonski has the details.

[Palonski] One should note not only the well-groundedness of the agreements, but also their specific nature in setting out directions for cooperation. In power engineering, for example, the countries intend to organize production of electro-technical equipment and to carry out work on rational utilization of energy sources. Interaction will be set up in the sphere of geological prospecting work. It is intended to deepen all-round cooperation in agriculture of the two countries and transport. Poland intends, for example, to provide us with an exit to the Baltic Sea through its sea ports. Now about east-west roads passing through our republic and Poland; cooperation is envisioned in modernizing the railways and a famous highway. All of this is to develop the economy of the two countries and to expand bilateral trade. It is intended to implement measures concerning the expansion of trans-border cooperation, placing special emphasis on creating the Bug River Euroregion. Making use of mutual experience in carrying out economic reforms is envisioned. What specific documents were signed today? This is a question for Mikhail Apanasyevich Marynich, the Belarusian minister of foreign economic relations and co-chairman of the Belarusian-Polish commission for trade and economic cooperation.

[Begin Marynich recording, in Russian] The first agreement was on principles of cooperation in carrying out checks on persons, goods, and means of transport crossing the Belarusian-Polish border by road and rail. That is one agreement. The second agreement is on preservation of memorial places and burial sites of victims of the war and repressions. A program was also signed between the ministries of industry of our countries in the field of scientific, technical, and economic cooperation for 1995. And, undoubtedly, the main document determining the policy of our cooperation in the area of the economy is the joint declaration by the prime ministers.

Today's meeting provided the opportunity to widen and deepen our cooperation primarily in the area of setting procedures for border crossing and removing queues. And confirmation of this is the opening of an additional crossing. Further work is intended on building other crossings, so that our Belarusian-Polish border truly will become civilized. The question of freight crossing was also examined, the use of Baltic ports, use of transit through Belarus and Poland. In a word, a lot of work was done and there still remains much work ahead, precisely in setting procedures for reciprocal trade. The question of lifting import duties was also discussed, although it was not resolved. In any case on many types of goods, especially on complex equipment such as refrigerators, tractors and cars, import duties on the territory of Poland from Belarus are very high. Work still needs to be done on this to reach agreement on lowering these duties. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Delivery of U.S. Chemical Equipment Reported

WS2301111195 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1600 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] According to the information received, the United States have started delivering equipment for a chemical laboratory which is to analyze chemical substances at the former establishments and bases of strategic missile forces.

This was announced at a briefing by the National Agency for Control and Inspections and the "Ekomir" Republican Scientific and Technological Center, which was

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dedicated to the course of the implementation of the U.S. Government's Nunn-Lugar program.

Premier: 1995 Budget Proving 'Extremely Difficult'

LD2001231695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1614 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By BELINFORM correspondent Yekaterina Vysotskaya for TASS]

[FBIS Translated Text] Minsk, 20 Jan—The characteristic feature of the 1995 budget is its anti-inflation nature, Mikhail Chyhir, head of the Belarusian Government, said at a news conference that was held at the national press center today. Finance Minister Pavel Dzik and Deputy Finance Minister Mikalay Rumas also attended the news conference.

In the opinion of the head of cabinet, the budget is extremely difficult. It proved impossible to provide sufficient funding for health care and the power ministries. The revenue part of the budget remained at 13 trillion rubles [R] and the expenditure part is R15.7 trillion. The budget deficit is four percent, which means R2.7 trillion worth of "purely paper money" will be printed next year. At the same time the government hopes to cover two percent of the budget deficit by foreign funding and end the year with a budget deficit not of four percent but of 3.5 percent, or even two percent, of the gross domestic product.

Declaration Signed To Establish Pre-Election Bloc

WS2301114595 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1600 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The leaders of the United Democratic Party of Belarus, the Civil Party and the Party of People's Accord signed a Declaration on the formation of a united democratic bloc "Civil Concord" on 19 January in the evening. The following goals of the bloc were proclaimed: the strengthening of the state sovereignty of Belarus, the decisive reform of the economic system, civil peace and national concord, priority of the interests of the individual over the interests of the state, national, and social groups. Perhaps, in the last point the basic distinction lies between this bloc and a democratic preelection bloc, which was formed a week ago by the Belarusian Popular Front, the Belarusian Social-Democratic Assembly, the Peasants' Party, and two small parties that declare the predominance of national interests over the interests of classes, parties and groups, although the security of human rights is also proclaimed.

In an interview given to a BELAPAN correspondent one of the leaders of the preelection headquarters of the Belarusian Popular Front Viktar Ivashkevich expressed his certitude that candidates from their bloc will have a better chance than candidates from "Civil Concord." At the same time the two blocs do not rule out the possibility of talks for a certain cooperation during the preelection campaign. The United Democratic Party of Belarus, the Civil Party, and the Party of People's Concord also declared their intention to amalgamate into single organization.

Moldova

Tiraspol Denies Involvement in Chechen War

AU2101203795 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2120 GMT 19 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol, BASAPRESS, 19/1/1995—"The statements made by Valerian Viktorov, Russian Federation Council deputy chairman, that Dniester mercenaries fight for Dudayev are absolutely unfounded," BASAPRESS learned from Stepan Kitsak, military counselor of the so-called Dniester president. He said that the Dniester military organs did not send volunteers to Chechnya and do not intend to do this. He said it is likely that "certain maniacs who once lived in Dniester are now fighting in Chechnya, but the Moldovan Dniester Republic is not responsible for their actions." Kitsak pointed out that the Russian newspaper never relayed information on Dniester volunteers. Asked by BASAPRESS where Viktorov could get such information, Kitsak said that "Dniester considered him a serious man but he spreads lies that suit Dniester's enemies."

Parliament Approves 300 Million Lei Budget Deficit

MM2301094595 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jan 95 First Edition p 6

[Report by Lyudmila Feliksova: "Budget Minus the Dniester Region. For the First Time of Late Moldova Has Begun the Year with a Law on Income and Expenditure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Chisinau—"After the constitution, this is the second most important document for any parliament," Deputy A. Muravschi, an economist, believes. "What is the budget? It is the taxpayer's money which is shared out by the state. The parliaments of many countries discuss its every point in detail. The Germans, for example, appoint a representative of the opposition as chairman of the budget commission."

In the opinion of economists, the Moldovan parliament has taken only the first step in its approaches to a detailed discussion of the budget. The population has not yet gotten to the point where it is clearly aware that the budget concerns its own money and that it has a right to take on the role not of suppliant but of controller. The government in turn has not yet gotten accustomed to the idea that it can no longer have a monopoly on the budget. Admittedly, the parliament has set up a composite commission of 25 deputies—representing all factions, including opposition ones—which has spent one month shaking up the budget, working in ministries and departments.

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It is characteristic that parliament has discussed only the state budget, while local ones have been left to the discretion of the regions themselves. Economists believe that the new republic budget is rather strained. If only because it was adopted in conditions when the production slump had not been halted either in industry or in agriculture. National income has fallen 26 percent compared with last year, industrial production 31 percent, and agricultural production 14 percent. Things are even worse in transportation and the services sphere—here the fall has reached almost 50 percent. These figures were cited in parliament by Finance Minister V. Chitan.

Nevertheless, a relatively small budget deficit is planned—300 million lei. Is this realistic? In Muravschi's opinion, there are always a lot of "ifs" in economics. "But the republic is tied by a memorandum with the IMF," he said, "and very tough demands have been made of it: The budget deficit must not exceed 3.5 percent of GDP. For comparison: The figure in Russia is 7 percent, and in the Baltic countries 5-6 percent."

True, Moldova has not put up any particular resistance: Having tempered the power of the center with the demands of Europe, it is endeavoring to abide by the new instructions. For the time being it is succeeding. The level of inflation has been brought down from 2,000 percent in 1993 to 100 percent, while for 1995 it is planned at the level of 10 percent.

Specialists believe that this is a two-edged weapon. On the one hand, a very high price is having to be paid for stabilization—it includes a disastrous drop in the standard and quality of life for the overwhelming majority of people. On the other hand, with inflation running at 2,000 percent, it is impossible to hope for an influx of investments on which Moldova is gambling. One of two evils has been chosen. The gamble on people's long-suffering nature is working at present. Although the term "hidden," which is now in wide use, is perfectly applicable not only to unemployment but also to inflation. This too is hidden by the nonpayment of wages and pensions and by transactions with producers not carried out on time.

Particularly heated arguments developed in parliament over so-called nontraditional sources of income. These are, first, the national bank's profits, which at first were proposed at 120 million lei—which would entail a substantial increase in interest rates on credits. The deputies halved them in a "planned" manner. Second, income from privatization. Its second stage—the cash stage—has given rise to a lot of questions and doubts. They have remained virtually unresolved.

As for the expenditure part, the deputies, despite the whole strained nature of the budget, endeavored to preserve its social thrust. One-half the expenditure will go on education, health care, culture, and so on. But 60 percent of it will be shouldered by the local budgets, which are permanently in the red.

The deputies were also badly embarrassed by the expenditure on Moldova's embassies and missions abroad. But they agreed that statehood demands such money.

Nevertheless, economist parliamentarians believe that the budget game of patience is realistic in its present form. It only remains to add that it was adopted without taking account of the left-bank rayons, which are customarily called the Dniester Region. So 1995 is beginning separately for the two banks in the financial and economic sense. Time will show whether they will come together before the end of this year.

Poll: Authorities, Mafia Blamed for Economic Crisis

AU2301125795 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau INFOTAG, 20/1/1995—Almost 32 percent Moldovan citizens believe they live below the poverty level. Over 57 percent said their living standards were unsatisfactory, and only 10.5 percent said they were contented. Such are the findings of a public opinion poll conducted by Opinia Sociological Service.

Its director Tudor Danii, said Opinia had questioned 1,323 random citizens in 22 urban and rural communities across Moldova, except Dniester.

66 percent of them replied that first and foremost mafia and corrupted elements are responsible for present-day difficulties, 59.7 percent blamed authorities of that, 42.2 percent blamed those who launched reforms in the society, 27.5 percent put responsibility on former communist partocracy, 26.9 percent accused businessmen and entrepreneurs.

Only 20.7 percent people believe that Moldovan population itself is to blame, and 8.9 percent accused foreign countries.

The greatest concern of the population is for price growing, inflation, poverty, deteriorating standards of living (86.9 percent). 68.7 percent people are mostly worried by chaos and anarchy, absence of discipline and order everywhere and in everything.

Almost 50 percent are anxious about the economic crisis and production decline, and almost the same number of people are scared by the orgy of mafia and criminals, 45 percent—by shortage of food and first-necessity goods.

The strain in national relations and threat of split in the republic are worrying 26.2 percent citizens, and the crisis of morals and culture—only 25 percent.

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Kazakhstan

Germany Offers Uniforms to Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Mongolian Armies

LD2201091895 Almaty KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 95 p3

[FBIS Translated Text] The German Bundeswehr is ready to give Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Mongolia 30,000 summer uniforms and 90,000 winter uniforms from the stocks of the old National People's Army of East Germany. This was announced by an official German Defense Ministry spokesman in Bonn. He said that the only condition was that the interested parties should export the uniforms themselves.

The uniforms are currently held at army depots in eastern Germany. The Bundeswehr will not pay for the transport. Kazakhstan is to receive the major part of this gift from the German army.

Defense Minister Interviewed on Visit to Aktyubinsk

LD2301110495 Almaty YEGEMEN KAZAKHSTAN in Kazakh 19 Jan 95 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Discipline Begins in Military Recruitment Offices"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Sagadat Kozhakhmetovich Nurmagambetov paid a working visit to the Aktyubinsk and West Kazakhstan regions last week. Although military servicemen value every minute, the defense minister found time to talk to our correspondent and to answer his questions. We think it necessary to draw the attention of our readers to this exclusive interview.

[Nurmagambetov] We have started to train military pilots at the Aktyubinsk city college which previously trained civilian pilots. Readers should be informed about such steps as this. My aim was to see the situation at the school and to provide some assistance. And it seems my intention was fulfilled. We should admit that the school is certainly finding its own feet. I was very pleased with this. All the students being trained there are citizens of our country. Moreover, 60-70 percent [of them] are ethnic Kazakhs. If everything goes well, in four years' time our own military pilots will secure our sovereign air space.

Another issue is connected with the way the local military recruitment offices are fulfilling their duties. There are few experienced workers in the recruitment offices now. Therefore, we have to deploy military servicemen transferred to the reserve. But the majority of them are not familiar with the directions of the current work. We frequently say that there must be strict discipline in the army. That is true. No work can be successful without military discipline. In my view, just as the theater begins at the cloakroom, so discipline should begin at the local military recruitment offices. I am talking about this because there is still much disorder and confusion during conscription campaigns. Medical services are doing a very bad job when examining the fitness of young people for military service. That is the first thing.

Second, some of our boys have no honor. They run back to their homes. We cannot conceal this. Why do they run away? One of the reasons is the weakness of the regional military recruitment offices. The majority of their workers are indifferent, weak, and do not have the necessary control over themselves. They do not coordinate their work with the local executive bodies and medical establishments. We held meetings on these issues recently. We exchanged opinions and put forward proposals on what should be done. By the way, there are few desertions in West Kazakhstan region. We could even say there are only isolated cases there. Therefore, it would not be bad if military recruitment offices followed the example of their West Kazakhstan colleagues.

[Unidentified correspondent] Sagadat Kozhakhmetovich, during the visit you visited some defense plants in Uralsk city. If it is not a secret, could you comment in brief on this?

[Nurmagambetov] There are no secrets here. As it was part of the visit's itinerary, we studied work at the plants. For the first time we have started to build military cutters. However, we cannot say that this already well developed. Although there are workers and experts, funding is not sufficient. We are working on it today.

[Correspondent] You know yourself that there is a big military test site called Kapustin Yar in West Kazakhstan. Military tests are being carried out on the sands of Naryn. For some time the local residents have been demanding closure of the test site. What would you say in this connection? Is there any development on the issue of paying them compensation?

[Nurmagambetov] Nursultan Nazarbayev and Boris Yeltsin, the presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation, are to sign an agreement on joint utilization of test sites in January this year. Along with this they will touch on other issues. It is true that military test sites are not as important as they used to be. Previously, there was no boss was above them, they did what they wanted. From now on there will not be such freedom. We will scrupulously control them. Although the test sites will not be closed they will be under our strict control.

Second, the Russians will pay for leasing the Kazakhstan test sites. As for the payment of compensation, I think this should be settled by the local authorities. It is not within the competence of military servicemen to pay compensation to victims. We will not gain much if we deceive people by saying that they will be paid in a few days or so. There is no need to mention the state of the republican budget because everybody knows it well. I think the government will help if it is able.

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Presidential Edict on Control of Foreign Capital

LD2101092995 Almaty Kazakhstan Television Network in Russian 1515 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An edict was issued by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev on measures to increase the effectiveness of the state's control and regulation of the processes of attracting foreign capital to Kazakhstan's economy. The text of the document in full is to be published in the press.

Trade Unions Protest Against Violation of Citizens Rights

LD2001181495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1532 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Alma-ata [Almaty], Jan 20 (INTERFAX)— The Council of the republic's trade unions held in Kazakhstan on Friday [20 January] a nationwide action of protest against mass violations of social and economic rights of working people.

An Interfax correspondent reports that taking part in the meeting in Alma-Ata were over 1500 people, part of the protesters came with red flags and portraits of Joseph Stalin.

Chairman of the Council of Kazakhstan's Federation of Trade Unions, Siyazbek Mukashev, told Interfax that the action "does not pursue political goals". He said that the demand of trade unions is that the wages be paid on time, production decline stopped and mass unemployment prevented.

Mukashev said that now registered in Kazakhstan are over 150,000 unemployed and in 1995 their number will grow to 500,000 people.

The republic's wages debt has amounted to 20 billion tenges ($1=55.8 tenges).

The protest action was held on behalf of seven million trade union members, said Mukashev. He said that public meetings, demonstrations and meetings of work collectives "are being held on January 20 in all regions of Kazakhstan".

Unions Protest Workers' Living Conditions

LD2101093495 Almaty Kazakhstan Television Network in Russian 1525 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An all-republican protest action took place in Almaty today against the deteriorating socio-economic conditions of the working people in the republic. The action was organized by the Council of the Trade Union Federation, at the request and demand of work forces in the republic. The aim of this action was to draw the attention of legislative and executive authorities at all levels to the working people's most pressing problems, as well as to the trade unions' urgent and justified demands in such spheres as industry, wages, employment, and social guarantees.

Reportage on Striking Miners

100,000 Strikers

954F0959A Almaty EKSPRESS-K in Russian 18 Jan 95 p 2

[Article by Stanislav Pesnev: "Strikers to Government: 'You Are Manipulating Us!'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The sectoral strike of Karaganda and Ekibastuz miners continues. Yesterday the situation remained unchanged: All mines, strip mines, and mine-construction administrations of Karaganda, as well as Ekibastuz strip mines, stayed idle. Special brigades maintained the mines in working condition; at strip mines only manual work is being done. A total of 100,000 persons are participating in the strike.*

We learned that within a few days the Cabinet of Ministers is expected to adopt a decree "On Improving Coal Industry Operations" (it has possibly already been adopted, as EKSPRESS-K press service learned yesterday before the issue went to print.—ed.).

"But the decree has nothing to do with the strike," Vyacheslav Sidorov, acting chairman of the coal miners trade union territorial committee, categorically told an EKSPRESS-K correspondent. "We did not organize a strike so that the Cabinet of Ministers could demonstrate the appearance of activity. Of course, you need to look at the prospects of coal industry development. But our first condition was: negotiations with the trade union and payment of past due wages. With the help of deputies we are working on a draft decree, which, had it been adopted earlier, would have prevented a strike. And now one-sided information is being distributed regarding the strike and the trade union's participation in it."

The uncompromising statements of Vladimir Karmakov, minister of power generation and coal industry, are perceived just as ambivalently in Karaganda—in particular the latest one in IZVESTIYA. "Why are they (the miners—S.P.) demanding that the ministry and the government issue their wages? I told them many times not to ship coal without prepayment. The miners continue to ship it, however."

"Just write that the minister is engaging in phrase-mongering," said the trade union leader. "Is it not the government that objects to it most of the time, and quite frequently simply orders us to be sensitive to consumers'—especially budget-financed—problems and ship coal without prepayment? They are making us look like fools. A coal association is a state enterprise, and its director is part of the state administration. Out of consideration for the interests of the state, he has to ship the coal on credit. If he does not do this, the furnaces of, for instance, the Karaganda metallurgical combine will disintegrate. And now Karmakov says: "Do not ship it." Next time let the minister give us orders in writing, signed and sealed. What would happen if we really stopped shipping coal?"

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True, who will be hurt most by sticking to principles? The capital city recently howled loudly complaining about the cold, although mining cities—is this not a paradox?—and, seriously speaking, the entire republic have already gotten used to the cold, and to the tribulations and absurdities of fate. I remember the pleas at the beginning of last year, when during the February freeze the Karaganda miners saved on credit East Kazakhstan and other regions.

We probably should stick to principles to the end. In order to cut expenditures and overheads in coal mining, which make our fuel uncompetitive, the government proposes to close unprofitable mines. So let us close them. Except that along with the mines let us also eliminate various preferences and treatment of social programs, and acknowledge the probability and fact of the existence of tens of thousands of unemployed in Karaganda alone... The miners factor in Karaganda and Ekibastuz is a historic determinant. This also needs to be taken into account.

The government has already offered many times a way out of this sensitive situation. Miners were given deferments in making payments into the budget; a fund for coal mine rehabilitation is being set up; there is a proposal for phased transfer of sociocultural facilities from the coal association to local administrations. But everybody understands that deferred taxes will not be paid or, if they are withheld forcibly, will result in new arrears in back pay to miners and payments into the budget.

Sooner or later unprofitable mines will probably have to be closed anyway... Except that according to recently declassified data, eliminating unprofitable mines and (or) combining them into one, which is happening now, will cost the treasury just as much. Shall we look for a solution?

Meet With Government Officials

954F0962A Almaty KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent Andrey Zhdanov under the rubric "President, Government, Parliament": "The Government Once Again Made a Deal With Miners. For How Long?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **As we already reported in the previous issue of our newspaper, on 16 January after the meeting between Prime Minister of Kazakhstan A. Kazhegeldin with the group of economic managers and deputies of the Republic of Kazakhstan Supreme Council, it was announced that the government has a decree ready, which is aimed at stabilization of the coal industry operations, in the main sectors of which (Karagandaugol state holding company and Ekibastuzugol joint-stock society) an attempt was made last week to call a large-scale strike.**

Others who participated in the negotiations together with the head of the government were Ye. Aliyev, first deputy minister of power generation and coal industry; Karagandaugol and Ekibastuzugol economic directors V. Telnoy and L. Omarova; V. Rose and B. Marinushkin, republic Supreme Council's deputies from the Karaganda electoral district; and M. Isayev, chairman of one of the parliament subcommittees. Immediately after the negotiations, they held a press conference.

According to the group members, the conflict in the sector has been brewing for a long time; it was not unexpected and had been caused by the nonpayments crisis, the government's fiscal policy, and taxation of goods producers; the work on the draft decree, however, had began before the situation reached a critical point and continued in Almaty, already in the government, for several days. L. Omarova and V. Telnoy said that the first reports in the republic and Russian mass media on the protest actions contained clearly exaggerated data on the number of people ready to go on strike or already on strike. According to V. Telnoy, during the days of the unrest, production of coal in Karagandaugol comprised 80 percent of the normal average daily output, so there is no reason to panic. (Jumping ahead, it should be noted that, according to A. Kazhegeldin's statement at the meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers presidium the same day, the republic has coal reserves that are estimated to be sufficient to carry it through May of this year). At the same time, V. Telnoy, answering KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent's question, emphasized the positive role of the coal miners trade union—it was to a large extent thanks to its efforts that a spontaneous development of events was prevented; the action is conducted in an organized manner; order and working conditions in coal-faces are maintained at the mines.

Ye. Aliyev described the main points of the government's draft decree. It envisages: one-year deferral of the coal mining industry's past due payments to the budget for 1994; permission for Karagandaugol and Ekibastuzugol to deliver fuel for state reserves in lieu of part of this year taxes; reduction of penalties for demurrage of railcars from 2 to 0.5 percent a day; and assisting coal consumers in obtaining credit to pay their debts to the coal industry. In addition, there is government's instruction to draft and have it signed by all interested parties a general agreement aimed at stabilization of prices for energy resources, first and foremost coal.

The set of measures proposed and coordinated with the head of the government, and first and foremost a "tax holiday" of sorts, were characterized by deputy B. Marinushkin as an "unprecedented" step on the part of the executive branch to meet production needs. Deputy V. Rose, in the recent past one of Karaganda's first entrepreneurs, seconded his colleague. It is hard to suspect me of being sympathetic to the government, which I always criticized and continue to criticize, he said, but in this case I see its willingness to take these actions as a turn in the direction of the main actor in the market. In the opinion of B. Marinushkin and V. Rose, similar measures in proper proportion and combination could be

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applied for production recovery in the republic as a whole, on a macroeconomic level.

In the course of the press conference, its participants were asked about the availability of money to pay wages to miners, which, as in many previous instances, was the main cause of the unrest. According to the sector's First Deputy Minister Ye. Aliyev, by 16 January money was found to pay last year's November and part of December wages.

Striking Miners Negotiate

954F0942A Almaty KARAVAN in Russian No 3, 18 Jan 95 p 1

[Article by Svetlana Kokhanova: "Black January for Miners"]

[FBIS Translated Text] So this year as well, on 13 January, the miners of Karaganda, driven to despair by virtue of not receiving wages earned, have begun to strike. But this comes as no surprise to the capital. A conference of miners took place three days before the New Year, in which Ekibastuz delegates also participated, and the firm decision was made to strike. V. Karmakov, minister of energy and the coal industry, and other members of the government were not present at the special conference.

As of today, miners have not been paid **2.7 million tenge in wages**. Miners' funds are exhausted. There is no money for kindergartens or the Palaces of Culture. As the New Year began here, one miner died and the enterprise was unable to find the cash to pay for his funeral...

* * *

A rumor spread across Karaganda yesterday morning that the government was prepared to offer the miners concessions. On Monday, Petr Nefedov, Karaganda Oblast Administration head, and Georgiy Prezent, general director of the production association Karagandaugol, flew into the capital. **The strike is beginning to look out of control—of 23 mines, three are in full operation, and up to 80 percent of miners at the remainder are not reporting for work.**

* * *

Negotiations did take place Monday evening in Almaty between the government, on the one hand, and representatives of the striking region, on the other. The government offered certain concessions. Specifically, Karaganda miners were offered a one-year deferment on payments to the budget; the fine for mine-car standstill was reduced; and a portion of taxes was permitted to be paid not in money but in coal deliveries to state reserves. In addition, funds were found to pay miners their wages for November and partially for December.

But this is not the most interesting aspect. Our government seems to be showing its teeth for the first time. According to reliable sources, it was stated repeatedly during the course of the negotiations that the amount of coal already extracted in our state is sufficient to last until the arrival of warm weather, specifically—until 16 May. In other words, it was an entirely obvious hint that it simply makes no sense to strike. What the miners decide to do in this situation—tomorrow will tell.

Kyrgyzstan

Kazakhstan Agrees to Joint Uranium Production

LD2101095895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0855 GMT 21 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bishkek January 21 TASS—Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan will jointly produce uranium raw materials.

It has been learned here that, according to an agreement reached between the two countries, uranium mined in Kazakhstan will be processed at the Kara-Baltinskiy mining complex near the Kyrgyz capital—Bishkek. This plant was the pride of the USSR Ministry for Medium Machine-Building. It not only uses the most progressive technologies, but also has a highly skilled personnel, which the plant's management was able to keep together in spite of the current difficulties. Nevertheless, the shops of this industrial giant were practically idle throughout 1994. Only an insignificant portion of its production facilities were used to assemble South Korean refrigerators and micro-wave ranges from imported parts. Now the plant is being revived.

The Kyrgyz industry is perking up. True, the process is very slow. This end is being achieved mainly by rebuilding 29 loss- making "Pesak" enterprises with the world bank's financial assistance and by creating new joint-stock enterprises. For instance, a Kyrgyz-Russian joint-stock society was recently set up to develop the Sary-Dzhaz tin and tungsten deposits in Kyrgyzstan.

Communist Party To Attend Russian Party Congress

LD2101100095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0837 GMT 21 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bishkek January 21 (TASS)—The Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan has been invited to attend the third congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which is to open in Moscow today. The Kyrghyz delegation will be led by K. Azhybekova, one of the leaders of the Kyrgyz Communist Party.

Today, the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan is the largest in the country. It is believed to have a membership of 15-20 thousand. Its members are mostly people aged above 35. The party has re- established its primary

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organisations at practically all the major industrial enterprises in the country in the course of the past year. There is a city party committee in the Kyrgyz capital and party committees in regional centres. Kyrgyz Communists openly declare their intention to come to power in the country, but by constitutional means. They object to the massive privatisation of industry and against the private ownership of land. The Communist Party also calls for state guarantees to the low-paid sections of the population and to pensioners.

Report on Fate of Kyrgyz Gold Reserves

LD2001194095 Bishkek SLOVO KYRGYZSTANA in Russian 14 Jan 95 pp 2-3

[Article by V. Nixdorf]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kyrgyz gold: Truth and invention.

To be honest, I chose this title on purpose: It has been disturbing people in Kyrgyzstan for a long time, because it was the title of the notorious report by the parliamentary commission on gold.

It was clear to many people even before this, and now it is absolutely obvious, that in the main the report was based on rumor, fantasy, and speculation. Although the report was drawn up by experienced people who were, in addition, deputies, many conclusions of the commission surprised the experts by what was, to put it mildly, incompetence.

Alongside the deputies' declared patriotic concern for the fate of the republican gold reserve, an underlying political background could easily be detected in the report. The opposition chose the "gold issue" as its main weapon for the fight against President Akayev himself and his policies.

The report, made public even before the issue was debated by the December 1993 session of the Supreme Council, had great repercussions. We answered many of the questions in SLOVO KYRGYZSTANA of 5 January 1994. But these questions related only to that part of the report that deals with the activities of the Kyrgyzaltyn [Kyrgyz gold] state concern. In essence, all the commission's accusations proved to be built on sand (unfortunately not on grains of gold!). We tried to separate truth from fabrication and to protect the good names of many people.

Now the whole truth has been revealed. On Tuesday 10 January 1995 SLOVO KYRGYZSTANA published an official resolution signed by Kyrgyz Deputy Prosecutor General Tatyana Chilnikina, the head of the operational investigation group, who is a senior legal adviser. This official document dots all the "i's" and crosses all the "t's." But nevertheless, readers might have some questions in addition to the purely legal ones. They have already asked us a few questions.

Deputy Prosecutor General Chilnikina answers questions put by the SLOVO KYRGYZSTANA correspondent.

[Correspondent] First of all, what was the main task that the operational investigation group set itself?

[Chilnikina] We tried to be able to see the wood for the trees, as they say. The main question was whether the Kyrgyz gold was safe or whether it had disappeared and been embezzled. The conclusions of the commission of deputies bluntly states that "plundering of our country's national wealth and squandering of the gold and foreign currency reserves" was taking place. You will admit that was a serious accusation, and that everything had to be made clear.

[Correspondent] On what basis was your group set up?

[Chilnikina] It included eight people: Members of the Prosecutor General's office, the State Committee for National Security, and the Interior Ministry. As the work progressed new people joined the group as required. A year of work resulted in a 19-volume file on the criminal case—a case which, as you know, has been stopped. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Let us get back to the gold and what the deputies asserted was its smuggling.

[Chilnikina] Smuggling means the illegal export of goods, which may harm the interests of state. But the transportation of the gold for high-purity refining was carried out on the government's instructions. Therefore we cannot speak about smuggling.

But we do have to speak about something else: The irresponsible and careless attitude towards exporting the gold.

Until August 1991 the Makmal group of enterprises was managed by the Soviet department Glavalmazzoloto [main department for diamonds and gold]. The gold was dispatched to the center [Moscow] by the state courier service. After gaining independence Kyrgyzstan continued using the Soviet regulations until its own had been drafted. But no strictly defined procedure for transporting such a valuable cargo was established. This is what is most surprising.

There were no agreements with the Canadian firm Seabeco; nothing on paper. Everything was done quite simply and amicably. It is just as well nothing untoward happened.

I can tell you frankly, you would be amazed. For example, A. Sarygulov, the chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations arrives in Zurich with gold concentrate. He sees a car at the airport with the Metallor plant's trademark on it, and hands the gold over to the people in the car without asking to see any documents. Afterward he goes off to his hotel with an easy mind, and the next day some woman brings him a registration document.

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Or take another case, involving the head of the presidential guard, General Zh. Boshkoyev. He was supposed to accompany the gold on a flight, but his visa had expired. Yet he was unconcerned. He came to the Manas airport [Bishkek], handed over the gold to the Seabeco aircraft, and that was that. [Former] Prime Minister Chyngyshev was similarly unconcerned.

Is that carelessness? Yes, of course it is. Scandalous carelessness, I would say.

[Correspondent] Incidentally, the Seabeco company has been described as criminal, yet its people showed that they were honest in these cases. After all, they could have made anything up, since there was no evidence.

[Chilnikina] It is just as well our lot were dealing with partners like that. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The deputies accused the government of making an "inexplicable" financial deal. They wanted to know why the $4.3 million residue of the credit granted by the Union Bank of Switzerland was transferred to the U.S. Federal Reserve System at three percent interest when "we received our gold at 3.625 percent."

[Chilnikina] That is just a misunderstanding or else financial ignorance. The Swiss gave us the credit at 3.625 percent annual interest. However, the gold held in New York brings the republic three percent a year.

As for the deposit interest rates they were as follows:

- April 1993: Federal Reserve System—3.06 percent; Union Bank of Switzerland—2.8 percent;
- May 1993: Federal Reserve System—3.08 percent; Union Bank of Switzerland—2.81 percent;
- June 1993: Federal Reserve System—3.09 percent; Union Bank of Switzerland—2.89 percent.

I think that when you compare these figures the question of where it was more profitable to keep the gold becomes irrelevant.

I could go on commenting on facts like this, which were presented in the report of the commission, but that would probably be pointless. If during the preparation of their report the deputies had questioned competent experts, there would not have been such blunders.

[Correspondent] Tatyana Ivanovna, if truth was on their side, why did the government members and Prime Minister Chyngyshev himself make such garbled speeches at the Supreme Council session?

[Chilnikina] They, too, could probably have done with some good experts. Besides, ambition may have played a part. If the discussion had been prepared in an atmosphere of good will, and everybody had wanted to find out the truth—but there was an acute political competition taking place. It seems to me that the gold was not of much interest to the parliamentarians. Something else was at stake. Who would defeat whom,

[Correspondent] Indeed, the prime minister was dismissed and the government resigned. Everyone seemed to calm down. But now a new hullabaloo has been raised around the Kumtor and other gold deposits.

[Chilnikina] But that is getting away from the theme of our conversation. The main thing is that we found out and told people that the gold, which the report of the commission was about has not disappeared anywhere. There is no foundation for any talk of gold smuggling or of squandering the republic's wealth.

The Philippines sent 120 tonnes of gold to Switzerland, and no one said a word. Yet here we go trumpeting to the whole world about our 1.6 tonnes. Of course this scandal—made worse by fabrications—did nothing for the republic's prestige and repelled many foreign investors from us. We proved to be less reproachless than, says, Switzerland itself. [passage omitted]

Tajikistan

Iran Resumes Efforts To Continue Inter-Tajik Talks

LD2001185695 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0600 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran has resumed its efforts to continue the inter-Tajik talks. Yesterday, 19 January, Mahmud Va'ezi, Iranian deputy foreign minister, had a conversation with the leaders of the Islamic Rebirth movement of Tajikistan in this regard.

Last week Raymond Sommereyns, the head of the United Nations political department, failed in his meeting with the representatives of both sides involved in Tajikistan, and representatives from Russia. The meeting was intended to find a way out of the difficulties which have come up. The opposition side said that unless Moscow respected the Islamabad agreement, handed back six ammunition dumps which had been plundered, and involved a representative from the Border Troops in the negotiating process it would not go to Moscow for the next negotiations. But the Russians did not accept these conditions.

The Iranian Foreign Ministry has now addressed this issue again and has taken action to eliminate the difficulties faced in continuing the talks.

Inter-Tajik Talks in Moscow Focus on Refugee Issues

LD2101132195 Dushanbe KHOVAR in Russian 0814 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A session of the members of the joint commission on the problems of refugees of the Republic of Tajikistan and Tajik opposition, which was created during the inter-Tajik talks, has taken place in Moscow. The results of the commission's work on

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counting refugees in CIS countries and studying their living conditions were summed up. They determined the next tasks of the work of the joint commission and their conformity with the decisions adopted during the inter-Tajik talks.

Shukurjan Zuhurov, minister of labor and employment of the Republic of Tajikistan, and Mr. Francois Perlot, head of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Tajikistan, took part in the work of the joint commission.

Foreign Minister Leaves for Moscow CIS Meeting

LD2301094095 Dushanbe KHOVAR in Russian 0716 GMT 23 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 23 January Talbak Nazarov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Tajikistan, left for Moscow to take part in the meeting of the council of CIS foreign ministers. This is the first working trip by the head of the republic's foreign ministry since he was appointed to this state office.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on Future Tasks

LD2101143095 Khudzhand LENINOBOD HAQIQATI in Tajik 18 Jan 95 p1

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The KHOVAR news agency continues reports on new members of the Tajik Government. Ne'mat Ochilov, a KHOVAR news agency correspondent, had a conversation with Tajik Foreign Minister Talbak Nazarov. First, a few words about Talbak Nazarov himself. He was born in 1938, and was elected an academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan in 1991; he has a Ph.D in economics and is the author of more than 100 scientific works. [passage omitted]

[Ochilov] Can your appointment to a new office lead to a change in the activities of our country's Foreign Ministry?

[Nazarov] It must be said that we do not have major changes in mind. We will adopt in practice the policy which is being advocated by our country's leadership. First of all, this means consolidating the structure of government in the Republic of Tajikistan and ensuring the republic's economic and political independence. Naturally, this will require more time and effort. We will continue our activities to create a truly democratic and secular society in Tajikistan, so that everyone will be given equal rights and opportunities irrespective of their ethnic groups and religion.

[Ochilov] How do you view Tajikistan's international position?

[Nazarov] You know that Tajikistan became an independent state only a few years ago. Despite this I will note with pleasure that its international position and reputation, as well as her esteem on the global scene, is increasing and becoming sound. Currently Tajikistan is a member of many international organizations and has diplomatic relations with more than 40 countries of the world. Of course, it is not matter of the number of states. The important thing is that the level of Tajik diplomatic activity should increase even further on the world scale.

[Ochilov] What are the tasks set for Tajik diplomacy in the near future?

[Nazarov] Currently we consider our primary task to expand and improve bilateral relations with the states with which our republic has always had traditional relations in many branches of life. They are the Russian Federation, the Republic of Uzbekistan, and other Central Asian countries. This does not mean that we do not want to develop our relations with other neighboring countries, near and far. Simultaneously, we will take steps to increase the republic's multilateral relations with member countries of the CIS and with international organizations, particularly the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE].

[Ochilov] Undoubtedly our compatriots are interested in bringing the situation back to normal and in democracy. What can you say definitely on this issue?

[Nazarov] The situation in the Republic of Tajikistan is gradually becoming stable. The wounds of the civil war will be healed. Today we live under a new Constitution, which the nation approved in a nationwide referendum. Our country's president has been democratically elected. Currently preparations for the elections of deputies to the supreme and local assemblies are under way all over the country. It should be said that these elections will be held according to the new Constitution. In short, political reform in the country is gradually being implemented. One of the important areas in the Foreign Ministry's work is to search and find a way to establish peace between Tajiks. We are holding talks with opposition representatives with this intention. And we are interested in positive results from the fourth round of the inter- Tajik talks, because it is in the interests of the majority of the Tajik people. In short, the ministry's staff have great and responsible deeds to deal with. We are ready to serve our people in achieving positive goals and ensuring a worthy life.

President Issues Appeal for Environmental Protection

LD2101094695 Khudzhand HAQIQAT-I LENINOBOD in Tajik 11 Jan 95 p 1

[Appeal by President Emomali Rakhmanov to the people of Tajikistan; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear compatriots:

We have always been proud that our dear country, Tajikistan, has a rich and florid nature, a favorable climate, a fertile soil, rare minerals, and green and fresh woods and meadows. We have always been sure that this

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generous land and this abundant and beneficial nature would provide food and clothes for this and future generations.

We must be thankful that this plentiful soil and this generous nature has not begrudged us its blessings and its mercy during the most difficult days of our lives.

Unfortunately, during my trips to various districts and areas of the republic, I see scenes and have heard reports that both amaze and seriously trouble me. Forests are ruthlessly cut down; thousands of hectares of fertile land suffer from incorrect usage, erosion, and leaching. Even productive gardens, seedlings, and trees in such sacred places as cemeteries are being destroyed. Such ignoble and improper actions have never been typical of our cultured people. There is a wise popular saying that says a human being must leave three thing as a memory of him: a generous child, a house, and fruit-bearing trees.

What kind of inheritance are we leaving behind for future generations through our present behavior and actions? Bare and graceless mountains, useless land, fruitless nature, and colorless and cheerless towns and villages?

Dear compatriots! Let us come to our senses, weigh our deeds on the scales of wisdom, and think about nature in our homeland. To strike at our own roots with an axe is not a pious act. Of course, I realize that this situation has its own objective reasons. The present economic situation in the republic does not give the government the opportunity to allocate the necessary funds needed to improve the irrigation of the land, to restore the forests, and to provide the residents with fuel, etc.

Bearing in mind this situation, I, as president of the republic, have decided to appeal to you, the people of the entire country.

Tajikistan, my country and yours, is unique and unrivaled. It is the homeland of those who have gone, those who are present, and of our future generations. Let us take care of our country. Every tree, every plant, bush, and blade of grass, and every inch of its soil must be dear to us. I appeal to the leaders on all levels, to all people's deputies, local governments, esteemed and experienced people, to prevent this destructive and harmful process, to expose the people who carry out such incorrect actions, and to take strict measures against them.

Bearing all this in mind, and with the intention of restoring damaged areas, planting trees, and establishing gardens in our towns and villages so that they become habitable and beautiful, let us hold a nationwide voluntary work day of improvement and planting trees from the first of February.

The chairmen of districts, towns, and regions of the republic, who are the representatives of the president in the localities, are personally responsible for carrying out this patriotic and vital campaign in an organized and successful manner.

I believe that all residents of the republic, every person who considers himself to be the son of this land and to whom Tajikistan is as dear as a mother, will not avoid this charitable deed.

Progress of Surrender of Weapons Reported

LD2101100195 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0600 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The edict by the president of the republic on the voluntary turnover and confiscation of weapons that are in the hands of the population has found support all over the republic.

During a conversation with our correspondent, Habib Sharipov, the department head of Dzhirgatolskiy district law enforcement bodies, said that the edict of the head of state, on the whole, consists of two parts: voluntary turnover and confiscation.

Unfortunately, the voluntary turnover of weapons is less observed in the republic. Since the edict was issued, we have confiscated 68 weapons; 12 of them are Kalashnikov sub-machine guns, three pistols, four home-made weapons, 30 sporting guns, one grenade thrower, one mortar shell, four armored personnel carriers, shells, and more than 3,000 units of ammunition in our district.

At the end of his conversation, Sharipov—calling on the people of the republic—said that holding onto weapons will not end well. So, let us hand over the weapons that remain in our hands to the competent bodies, for the sake of the peace of our people and so that the conflicts and bloodletting never be repeated.

Disarmament Campaign Said Intensifying Hostilities

LD2101114995 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan 0600 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The disarmament campaign has intensified the hostility between the forces supporting the communist state of Tajikistan.

It is reported that Interior Ministry forces have clashed with armed guerrillas of the so-called Popular Front in Leninskiy District. As a result of this clash, which took place on the territory of the Rossiya collective farm, at least six people were killed from both sides. Although the Interior Ministry forces could not fully achieve their [words indistinct].

Turkmenistan

ECO Representing 10 Asian Nations Meets in Ashgabat

LD2101183895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1722 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ashgabat, Jan 21 (INTERFAX)—The Council of Ministers of the Organization of

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Economic Cooperation [ECO], a body representing 10 Asian nations, is meeting here.

The three-day meeting, opened on Saturday [21 January], attended by the foreign ministers or deputy foreign ministers of all the member countries, Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, is expected to end with the signing of cargo transit and visa accords. The council also wants to look at some aspects of the Quetta Plan, a set of measures for a period until the year 2000 to develop transport infrastructures, trade, and energy and agricultural cooperation between ECO countries.

Saturday's session elected Turkmen Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Boris Shikhmuradov council chairman.

The council, to hold the rest of the meeting behind closed doors, is to hear a report from ECO General Secretary Shamshad Ahmad.

Iran's Velayati Arrives for ECO Meeting

LD2001215695 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 2030 GMT 20 Jan 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On the eve of the fifth ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization] foreign minister's meeting in Turkmenistan, our country's Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, heading the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, arrived in Ashgabat Friday [20 January] night and was welcomed by Boris Shikhmuradov, Turkmen vice president and foreign minister .

Speaking to reporters in Ashgabat, Mr. Velayati said: The main purpose of the foreign minister's meeting in Ashgabat is to prepare an agenda for the coming ECO summit.

Referring to the meetings of the ECO planning council and other committees, which had met in the past several weeks in Tehran, Mr. Velayati said: The ministerial council, headed by the foreign ministers of the ECO member countries, will study ways of furthering cooperation between member countries in order to establish a shipping company, an airline, banks, and insurance companies as well scientific cooperation and revival of an ECO cultural organization regarding which decisions had been made in the last meeting.

Referring to the importance of implementing these projects in order to help the progress and development of ECO member countries, as well as their solidarity, Mr. Velayati said: We are in the process of implementing these projects and will remove any obstacles that might be in the way of the projects.

Mr. Velayati emphasized that since last year's ministerial conference [word indistinct] steps have been taken to implement these projects. [Sentence indistinct]

Boris Shikhmuradov, Turkmen vice president in charge of international affairs and foreign minister, said: We are very happy that ECO founding members, Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan, have decided to hold the fifth ECO foreign ministerial meeting in the capital of a new member country.

He hoped that the foreign minister will be able to hold a fruitful meeting in Turkmenistan. Russia wishes to attend the meeting as an observer, he added.

It is worth noting that the 10 ECO member countries are Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan.

The ECO ministerial council, in which delegations are headed by the foreign ministers of member countries, is to meet 21-24 January in Ashgabat.

Calls For Change in Structure of ECO

LD2101115795 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to our correspondent's report, Mr. Velayati addressed the opening session of the ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization] Ministerial Council meeting. In his speech, he described the exchanges of views at such meetings as constructive, saying: In a world in which politics and economics are two inseparable factors and that dictate the fate of peoples, our cooperation within the ECO will safeguard the joint interests of the region.

Our country's foreign minister stressed that tension and crisis in any of the member states would have a negative effect on the speed of the ECO's activities and added: The policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is constructive assistance in order to find a peaceful solution to differences on the one hand, and the establishment of extensive economic cooperation in the region on the other.

Mr. Velayati also reiterated: The Islamic Republic of Iran believes that the ECO should develop in step with international developments. A change in the structure of the ECO under these circumstances is essential.

Niyazov Comments on Development of ECO Cooperation

LD2101135495 Ashgabat TURKMEN PRESS in Russian 0700 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After receiving Ahmat Shanshad, secretary general of the Economic Cooperation Organization [ECO], who is in Turkmenistan in connection with preparations for the ECO conference, President Saparmurad [Niyazov] Turkmenbashi noted that Turkmenistan will continue to build relations with the ECO, proceeding from the understanding of the great role that the ECO must play in the fate of states of the region.

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"We understand very well that there are great opportunities for cooperation between ECO member countries. Therefore, we will do everything in our power to use this opportunity in the name of the prosperity of the peoples living in the region," Saparmurad Turkmenbashi said.

The Ashgabat conference will discuss other issues such as the development of the infrastructure of air and maritime communications. The decisions made and the resolutions adopted in this sphere will help the further development of the economies of ECO member states and will help the peoples of the region come closer together.

Pipeline To Supply Gas to Europe Via Iran, Turkey

LD2001160095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ASHKHABAD [Ashgabat], Jan 20 (Interfax)—The international joint-stock company Turkmenistan Transcontinental Pipeline (TTP) will be set up by the end of next month to implement a project on extracting and supplying Turkmen gas to Europe across Iran and Turkey.

An Interstate Council on Export of Oil and Gas from Turkmenistan passed this decision at a session in Ankara on January 17. Taking part in that meeting were the senior managers and representatives of the fuel and energy complexes of Turkey, Turkmenistan, Iran, Russia, Kazakhstan, as well as such major oil and gas companies as Chevron, Mobil Oil, Mannesmann.

The Interstate Council was set up last spring at the level of fuel department chiefs of Turkmenistan, Iran, Turkey, and Russia to coordinate efforts for pipeline construction to span from Turkmenistan to Western Europe. Later, in the summer of 1994, the Council was joined by Kazakhstan.

It is assumed that TTP will unite the state-owned and private construction and investment companies involved in the project, foremost from the Council states.

In an interview with Interfax, Aman Esenov, Turkmenistan's deputy oil and gas minister, declined to reveal the sum of the charter capital or the value of each of the future company's shares, declaring, however, that they "will match the scale of the project." Esenov said that although it would take from $3 billion to $3.5 billion to lay the first part of a 1400-km-long gas pipeline from the Corpedje deposit in the southwest of Turkmenistan, the precise sum has yet to be determined.

Turkmenistan intends to get down to the project next May, Iran—within a year. Each side pledges to lay pipelines across its territory with Iran favoring the self-reliance principle. The first part of a gas pipeline to pump over 15 billion cubic meters of gas a year is to be laid in the second half of 1997.

Natural Gas Reserves, Development Prospects Viewed

MM2001122395 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by Sergey Golubchikov: "Turkmengaz—A Rival to 'Gazprom'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Turkmenistan is the largest "gas" state of the former Central Asian republics of the former USSR. The balance reserves of its 100 fields are calculated at 2,800 billion cubic meters of natural gas, which, given the current rate of extraction (around 90 billion cubic meters per year), will last for 30 years.

Turkmen gas is mostly light methane; more than 90 percent is exported to Russia, Ukraine, and the Transcaucasus republics. The prospect of supplying Turkmen gas to China and Japan is being discussed. Thus it proposed to construct a gas pipeline designed to supply 30 billion cubic meters of gas per year; it will cross the territory of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and China and pass along the shores of the Yellow Sea. A plant will be built there capable of burning 10 million tonnes of gas; tankers will deliver the gas from there to Japan. The approximate cost of the 6,000km pipeline will be $12 billion.

Preparation for the project, which is being elaborated by experts of the "Turkmengaz" corporation, Japan's Mitsibushi Corporation, and the Chinese National Oil Company, is expected to be completed by the middle of 1995. The question of transporting Turkmen gas to Europe across Turkey and Bulgaria, and also via Russia and Ukraine, is being studied with the world community. So the "Turkmengaz" corporation could in the near future constitute no mean rival to Russia's "Gazprom."

The most impressive of the fields in terms of reserves is the unique Dauletabad-Donmezskoye field, where half of the proven reserves of Turkmen gas are concentrated and which accounts for 45 percent of all gas extracted. In recent years a number of fields in Chardzhou and Mary Oblasts and in western Turkmenistan and the Caspian offshore fields (the Barinov field, the Livanova-Vostochnaya Bank, and the Shafag fields) have shown an increase in reserves.

Uzbekistan

World Bank Official Praises Economic Reforms

LD2201120695 Tashkent NARODNOYE SLOVO in Russian 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Message to His Excellency, the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov:

Your Excellency!

I thank you for giving me the opportunity to meet you, as well as for generously granting your time to me during my recent visit to Uzbekistan to discuss matters of mutual interest.

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During our conversation, I became completely convinced of your firm belief that Uzbekistan will continue to develop along the path towards a market oriented economy, while paying particular attention to political, financial, and social stability, as well as to a firm legislative basis. I also had the opportunity to better understand those steps you have undertaken to consolidate the economy, in particular the energy complex and agriculture, lessening your dependence on importing energy and grain. The measures undertaken to consolidate the national currency by toughening budget, monetary, fiscal, and credit policy are evidence of a firm economic policy. These measures should create the basis for the successful implementation of the reform program.

My conversation with you and other leaders helped me positively evaluate both the implementation of the reform program and also the power of the Uzbek economy. I was glad to hear you confirm the increased cooperation between Uzbekistan and the World Bank. I believe that the completion of the talks on a rehabilitation loan and the loan for the cotton project, which are worth about 230 million dollars, will be the basis for broadening the World Bank's support program. This program may consist of three or four annual loans worth more than 300 million dollars, especially over the next four to five years when considerable investments to transform Uzbekistan's economy will be especially needed.

Completion of the work on the rehabilitation loan and the planned meeting of the consultative group will also help demonstrate Uzbekistan's potential to foreign investors. As we agreed, privatization and the reform of enterprises will be the basis for the successful implementation of the reform program and the bank is ready to grant financial and consultative support on these issues.

[Signed] Sincerely,

(Yukon Huang), director of the World Bank 3rd department for European and Central Asian countries.

Iran's Velayati Comments on ECO Meeting

LD2201221695 Tehran IRNA in English 2155 GMT 22 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dushanbe, Jan. 22, IRNA—Foreign ministers of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) here on Sunday decided to form interparliamentary groups among ECO member states.

The ECO foreign ministers also agreed to hold the next summit and ministerial meeting in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, in January 1996.

Iranian Foreign Minister, 'Ali Akbar Velayati said that Uzbekistan's readiness to host the next summit and ministerial meeting of ECO indicated that the Central Asian nations in the long run put their trust in ECO.

He said that the ministerial meeting has approved to pay more attention to the problems and difficulties of the member states.

Velayati said that ECO foreign ministers reached an agreement to launch further studies at expert level to formulate establishment of ECO-air, ECO-insurance, ECO-shipping company and ECO-bank.

The annual meeting of ECO opened in Ashgabat Saturday and is expected to continue tomorrow.

President Criticizes 'Democracy of Rallies'

LD2001204995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 20 Jan 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kyrgyz [as received] President Islam Karimov has sharply criticized "democracy of rallies" in Uzbekistan.

He told the meeting of the heads of the ministries and the administrations of the republic that the practice of mass rallies had been flourishing in Uzbekistan in the early 1990's. The text of his speech was fully published in the Uzbek media today. Karimov said if "the Uzbek leaders had then ceded to empty-word appeals the same would have happened in the country which can now be seen in the neighboring countries and many republics of the ex-USSR."

Karimov said "all slogans of that time proclaiming independence and in favor of granting to the Uzbek language the status of an official language, in favor of protecting environment and others" had been carried out "peacefully" without infringing on somebody's rights or creating "inter-ethnic tension."

Karimov said he believed that "freedom of opinions and pluralism of ideas should be sought within the scope of the Constitution without excessive shouting and noise." He urged the leaders of republic's regional administrations not to be afraid of "inviting new young employees" who "are sometimes more competent and better prepared than some heads of the administrations."

Karimov said Uzbekistan would have much to do in 1995. He said he considered it the prior task for the country to create "legal democratic society with a truly market economy" and to develop privatization in the agriculture. Karimov said it was also important to achieve "independence on the basic economic directions, learn how the country can supply itself with production of several branches of the industry and improve food supply for the population."

Karimov Urges Diversity of Opinions

LD2101134495 Tashkent NARODNOYE SLOVO in Russian 20 Jan 95 p1

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As has already been reported, an extended meeting took place in the president's office

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on 18 January. The chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, heads of regional and Tashkent city administrations, and the heads of a number of ministries and departments took part in the meeting. The meeting was chaired by Uzbek President Islam Karimov.

The meeting discussed the results of the first organizational sessions held after the [25 December] elections to the Supreme Assembly and local councils. It also discussed providing the population with foodstuffs in the Republic of Karakalpakstan, the regions, and the city of Tashkent, as well as the of the economic reforms in agriculture. [passage omitted]

Candidates from three public political forces fought the elections, namely the People's Democratic Party, local councils, and the Homeland Progress Party. The most worthy of them received the highest confidence of the people, Islam Karimov stressed. Every deputy in his practical activities should now follow the program of the party or local authority which nominated him, and implement their ideas. We say this because after being elected some deputies have declared themselves representatives of a party, even though they were nominated by a completely different political force. Should the Central Electoral Commission not examine such cases? In a word, let every deputy act on behalf of the public political structure which nominated and supported him during the elections.

Different factions and blocs can be formed both in the Supreme Assembly and in local councils, as required by democratic principles. The existence of different opinions and views on any issue should be a normal phenomenon. Let everyone have his own ideas on how to change and improve this life. In other words there should be a single aim, but the ways of achieving it may be different. And one should not be afraid of that. Finally, if in parliament's activities and in society as a whole there is no freedom of opinions and no variety of ideas, when no different ways of thinking are tolerated, there will be neither progress or advancement. We can find convincing evidence of this in our recent past.

Why not confess that the terrible habit of using words like "unanimity" and "Long live!" from the old times is still living inside us. And if somebody thinks differently, we begin to worry as if everything will be turned upside down because of it, and we view such people as enemies. Those times have passed, and let them never return. Not for nothing is it said that truth is born in arguments; only by considering different opinions can the best solution to a question be found. However, we must act within the framework of the Constitution and without unnecessary noise and shouting. This is the way to build an open and democratic state. We will follow this path decisively and steadily. For our most cherished and common aims are to build a law-based democratic society, create a real market economy, and leave a free and flourishing homeland for future generations.

Let us recall those times when mass rallies flourished, the president said. The slogans shouted there appealed for independence, giving state status to our language, deliverance from the cotton monoculture, and improving the ecological situation; they also demanded that plots of land be given to the peasants, that market relations be created, and that national values be revived. Tell me, please, what of this has not already been implemented? Let those who consider themselves our opponents answer this question, facing the truth!

It happens that it was possible to achieve all this quietly, peacefully, without hurting anyone, and without arousing any inter- ethnic tension! If at that time we had given way to idle talk and empty appeals, we would have lost our way. What would then have happened to our country? Today we have a clear demonstration of this in neighboring countries, in many republics of the former Soviet Union! Thank God, our people, its conscious majority, chose the only right path.

This truth should be correctly and profoundly understood. Islam Karimov stressed: Life is changing, and leaders should be the first to respond to these changes and, if necessary, change their views and bring their activities into line with today's criteria. Those who cannot respond to today's demands will eventually fall overboard.

It should be noted that some heads of local administrations are not exacting enough. There is a dread of new and young personnel, who are more competent and better trained than they are. This is a dangerous disease which will just lead to a dead-end. Other administration heads are too occupied with petty economic issues, with the result that people postpone the tackling of large-scale problems of providing the population with services and utilities and improving living conditions. The most sacred duty of each leader, the people's guide, is to take care of people, unite them on the basis of our policies, and unite them on the path to noble goals. If a road is constructed, life will improve; if gas is supplied to houses, people will be more comfortable; if pure drinking water comes from the faucet, it means that concern for the people's health is real.

If the issue is considered from this point of view, the president stressed, the work of providing the population with foodstuffs cannot satisfy us to any extent. The reason is that many administration heads are still dependent. Dependency is our biggest vice. Everybody still places their hopes in centralized supplies and the republican government. And there is insufficient initiative and no concrete attempts to provide at least some of the necessary products in the regions or bring them in independently from outside. This conclusion arises because not a single region has fulfilled the tasks in this area.

Judge for yourselves: How should we view the fact that in Dzhizak Region only seven quintals of grain was harvested per hectare on the dry-farming lands and that

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only 62,000 hectares was sowed with grain in the densely populated Fergana Region? Things are very bad in the Republic of Karakalpakstan. Or can we reconcile ourselves to the fact that foodstuffs brought into Uzbekistan, despite plenty of difficulties, are then disappearing abroad?

In future, each region should work out its own program for providing the population with foodstuffs. It must specify precisely how much food a region is going to receive from the center and how much is has to find itself. The government will ensure the supply of its share, regional authorities must guarantee the provision of the rest. The main thing is that each shop should stock eight compulsory goods such as flour, vegetable oil, sugar, tea... [ellipses as received]. This is to make people confident that they are always available and rest easy.

However, localistic tendencies and egoistic principles are intolerable for us as well. Let us not forget that Uzbekistan is a single country. If there is a surplus of rice in Khorezm and a surplus of grain in Kashkadarya, is it not better to exchange these necessary foods rather than look for them somewhere outside, in other countries?

The implementation of reforms in agriculture is of great importance, the president said. It is also important for all branches of the economy. If there are no changes in agriculture, life will not improve. Privatization in agriculture should be really developed. Unfortunately, we have not achieved this yet. Formalism has still not surrendered its positions. Signboards and the names of forms of ownership of state and collective farms have changed, but their essence is the same. The demagogic leader still sits in the same office and with his hardened administrative structure hinders the implementation of the reforms and puts obstacles in their way. Until this is ended and until every farmer regards the land and means of production as his own property, we will not achieve our aim.

The most drastic measures should be taken here. Farmers should be supported by all possible means. We need to create agricultural firms with the participation of industries and collective and peasant farms. They should be managed not by a single man, but by the board of the firm. This applies to cotton growing and the processing of meat, fruits, and grapes. In a word, local administrations and scientists must come to a joint conclusion about this and make their recommendations.

Organizations dealing with agriculture—whether a bank or an enterprise providing material and technical facilities—should be interested and take an active part in implementing reforms in this sphere. Nobody can be a detached observer. [passage omitted]

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Armenia

Border Commander on CIS Meeting on Border Defense

NC2001203195 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 20 Jan 95

[Report by Gevorg Nazaryan, place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Nazaryan] The scheduled meeting of the commanders of the border troops of the CIS countries took place in Moscow [on 11 January]. Representatives from Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan took part in the meeting. A representative of the Coordination Council of CIS countries was also present. Major General Levon Stepanyan, commander of the republic's border troops, attended the meeting on behalf of Armenia.

The general commented on the issues discussed and results of the meeting.

[Stepanyan] This was our third meeting devoted to the discussion of the draft concept on the defense of the external borders of the CIS countries, and of the draft agreement on cooperation on matters related to the defense of the external borders of the CIS countries.

We had already discussed these last summer and in November. The January meeting was the first meeting among the representatives of the CIS countries this year. We tried to discuss the drafts of this concept and agreement, with the aim of submitting it for the examination of the foreign ministers on 25 January. After that, these documents, the drafts, will be submitted for the signatures of the heads of state.

We encountered a few problems during the discussion. One could say that our proposals were accepted. However, there are points in those drafts with which we could not have agreed. For example, the drafts mentioned the concept of the inviolability of the borders formulated during the Bishkek meeting last August and the document of which Armenia had not signed. Naturally, we could not agree to it and therefore did not sign it; we proposed that that document should be taken out of the drafts. This issue is still being debated.

We know what our objectives are. We can consider that issue only in linkage with the concept of national self-determination. However, this linkage is absent in the drafts, and we are demanding that the concept of the national self-determination be inserted there. We are convinced that this is what will eventually happen. This issue has to be solved during the meeting of the foreign ministers.

The interesting thing is that once these drafts are signed, a legal foundation will be (?created) in the domain of the defense of the external borders of the CIS countries whereby we will have in place [words indistinct] a general regime on the borders and general regulations on border crossing points.

Gas Supplies to Armenia Resumed Following Explosion

LD2301095995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0935 GMT 23 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan January 23 TASS—Gas supplies to Armenia stopped by an explosion on the gas pipeline in Georgia (there is only one gas pipeline for Georgia and Armenia) on Saturday morning, were restored on Monday, ITAR-TASS learned at the press service of the Armenian Government.

A gas pipeline of a smaller diameter was put into operation temporarily. Gas is supplied to the republic in the same volumes as before the explosion. According to specified information, the explosion damaged a 400-meter section of the pipeline. It will take at least two weeks to repair it.

In the meantime, electricity is supplied to apartments in Armenian towns and the countryside only for one or two hours. Generated electricity is mostly supplied to bakeries, hospitals and some industrial enterprises.

Six Parties Decide To Enter Elections Jointly

NC2001214695 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Six parties held a meeting on 20 January during which they discussed the work accomplished so far. Taking into consideration the commonality of their political positions, the Republican Party of Armenia, Armenian Pannational Movement, Armenia's Ramkavar Democratic Liberal Party, Christian Democratic Union of Armenia, Intellectual Armenia Union, Ramkavar Liberal Party [Ramkavar party split into two factions recently], and the Social Democratic Hnchakian Party have confirmed their intention to run jointly in the upcoming elections.

ARMENPRES was informed about this by the press service of the Armenian Pannational Movement.

Rally Condemns Forming of 'Police State'

LD2001221095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1853 GMT 20 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yerevan, 20 Jan—About 2,000 people gathered today at a rally called by the opposition Union of National Accord [Soyuz natsionalnogo soglasiya]. Five of Armenia's political parties, which make up this alliance, held the demonstration to subject the Armenian Government to severe criticism.

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At the rally, Hrayr Karapyetan, a member of the central committee of the recently banned [Hai Heghaporkhakan] Dashnaktsutyun [Armenian Revolutionary Federation] party, said that the alliance of opposition forces was concerned that the process of creating a police state was continuing in Armenia. He said that the authorities were continuing to settle old scores with opposition political forces. According to him, everything was being done in Armenia to distract public attention away from socioeconomic problems and from the authorities who bore responsibility for their increasing seriousness. In the opinion of the speaker, the authorities were aiming to isolate the opposition on the eve of the coming parliamentary elections and keep the governing Armenian Pan- National Movement's monopoly on power.

Georgia

Gas Supplies Resume After Pipeline Repair

LD2201173695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 22 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Jan 22 (Interfax)—"The gas pipeline, damaged by unknown people in Georgia's Gardaban Region, has been restored," a spokesman for the Georgian Interior Ministry told Interfax on Sunday [22 January].

Gas is supplied to Armenia in the previous volumes.

Shevardnadze Briefs Press on Bulgaria Visit

LD2001205195 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the Georgian Parliament and head of state, held a news conference today [20 January] concerning his recent official visit to Bulgaria. It was indicated that the visit found a broad response in the Bulgarian media. The profound importance of the friendship and cooperation treaty was emphasized at the news conference.

Journalists asked questions about detailed provisions of the signed agreements, prospects of relations with Bulgaria, future development of the idea of a Euro-Asian corridor, events in Chechnya and an estimated time of a peaceful settlement of the Abkhazian and Ossetian conflicts.

Shevardnadze said that the supreme authorities of Bulgaria and Georgia have a similar stance when assessing bilateral relations as well as current world affairs. In Shevardnadze's words the Bulgarian president has once again confirmed his stand with regard to Georgia's territorial integrity and his support for a peaceful settlement of the Abkhazian and Ossetian conflicts at the present stage. Shevardnadze answered journalists' questions.

Oil Pipeline Construction Agreement Signed

LD2001135595 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1130 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi (IPRINDA)—On 19 January during a one-day official visit to Bulgaria by the head of the Georgian state, Eduard Shevradnadze, Georgia and Bulgaria signed a comprehensive agreement on friendship and good-neighborliness as well as 13 other agreements envisaging cooperation practically in all spheres.

Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev told an IPRINDA correspondent that Shevardnadze's visit was very important. He stressed that he had never signed so many agreements with any country. The Bulgarian president went on to say that the two sides had signed an important agreement on the construction of an oil pipeline between the Georgian port of Poti and the Bulgarian port of Burgas and added that this would reflect positively on both Georgia and Bulgaria as well as other countries of the Black Sea basin.

Russia, Armenia To Help Restore Abkhazia's Railroads

LD2101145795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1415 GMT 21 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tbilisi January 21 (TASS)—Russia, Georgia and Armenia have agreed to join forces to restore railway traffic in Abkhazia by the summer 1995.

The ministries of railways of the three countries have started work to draw a feasibility study and prepare a financial plan to cover the expenses of repairs on a section that will reconnect the Vesyoloye (Krasnodar region, Russia) and the Samtredia (Georgia) stations after more that two years of disuse due to the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict.

Russia and Armenia will contribute 30 per cent of the needed sum each, the rest will be provided by Georgia.

Russian Servicemen 'Looting' in Abkhazia

LD2201142795 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1215 GMT 22 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Gali 22 Jan—The situation in Gali rayon has sharply aggravated since the 13 January action. The Abkhaz separatists have deployed additional men here, who are ravaging with impunity the civilian population. [passage omitted]

Some 60 men arrived in Gali rayon from Sukhumi on 21 January and ravaged the population of the villages of Tagiloni and Otobaya on the same day. Along with the Abkhaz, members of the Russian airborne assault battalion stationed in Gudauta have been observed among those looting. [passage omitted]

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According to reports received from Sukhumi, a 120-strong team of Abkhaz fighters is about to leave for Groznyy. Some reports say that the number of fighters from Abkhazia currently in Chechnya reaches 1,500.

Pro-Georgian Abkhazians Oppose Common Border With Adighe

LD2201103895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian at 0800 GMT on 22 January carries a 3-minute report on the Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic in Tbilisi making a statement on 21 January on a proposition by the Adighe authorities about exchanging land parcels with Krasnodar Kray within the limits of the biosphere preserve of the North Caucasus.

According to the proposition "having established common borders with Karachai-Cherkessia and Abkhazia, the Adighe republic would be able to implement more independent socio-economic policy within the limits of the Russian Federation," the statement says.

The statement further says it is hard to perceive why "Abkhazia, an integrated part of Georgia ... is treated equally with Karachai- Cherkessia, an integral part of Russia". An idea of Adighe republic's enjoying more extensive rights within the Russian Federation by getting a common border with Abkhazia is also considered embarrassing by the statement.

The Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic believes that a "positive resolution on the issue would unavoidably enhance separatist sentiments" in Abkhazia and "would also strengthen the position of the separatists who received major assistance from the Confederation of the Caucasian Peoples via the above-mentioned territory."

The Supreme Council of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic appeals to the Russian authorities "to proceed from the interests of the two states, Russia and Georgia, when considering the proposition put forward by the Adighe government."

Abkhaz President: 'Volunteers' Fighting for Chechnya

AU2201175695 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 21 Jan 95 p 4

[Report on interview with Vladislav Ardzinba, "president of the region of Abkhazia, which has seceded from Georgia," by Helmut Hetzel in The Hague; date not given: "Volunteers From Abkhazia Are Helping the Chechens"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some 1,200 Abkhaz volunteers are fighting on the side of the Chechens against the Russian interventionist forces. "They are there voluntarily," Vladislav Ardzinba, president of the region of Abkhazia, which has seceded from Georgia, emphasized in an interview with DIE PRESSE. Ardzinba, who is currently paying a visit to the UNPO (organization of non- officially recognized countries) in The Hague, is, however, optimistic that the war in Chechnya will be over soon: "It will not last much longer. Russians and Chechens will seek a negotiated settlement. After the end of the war the Chechens will be regarded as the winners."

"Abkhazia Independent"

Ardzinba believes that not only Abkhazia but Chechnya, too, will be independent in the medium term and even be internationally recognized: "Abkhazia is in fact already independent. Both Russia and Georgia recognized Abkhazia's sovereignty in the Moscow Declaration of 4 April 1994." However, the "terrible war" that is raging in Chechnya induced Georgia to cancel further negotiations on the status of Abkhazia. Yet, Ardzinba is hopeful that the talks will resume in February.

He even believes that the bloodbath in Groznyy will strengthen Abkhazia's course toward independence: "The Russians cannot afford a second Chechnya."

No Confederation

Ardzinba is optimistic that the Abkhaz will achieve a "peaceful agreement" with Moscow and Tbilisi. Yet, he points out unmistakably that a confederation is inconceivable either with Russia or with Georgia. "On 26 November, our parliament adopted a new Western- style constitution. Therefore, we are a democratic and sovereign state."

Although this state has not been recognized by anybody, "we are, in fact, sovereign." Yet, what is of priority now is that Abkhazia's state sovereignty is first respected by Georgia and Russia and laid down in guarantees.

Abkhazia Sending Reinforcements to Gali Rayon

LD2301115995 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1000 GMT 23 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Gali, 23 Jan—The Abkhaz side has again sent reinforcements to Gali Rayon. Armed formations were deployed in various Gali Rayon villages on 22 January. Forty militants arrived in the village of Tagiloni and 20—in the village of Otobaia. The Abkhaz are also making threats that in the next few days they will start ethnic cleansing in the Georgian villages of the southern part of Gali Rayon.

Several days ago the Abkhaz side installed a large number of machine-guns near a dam at the Enguri hydroelectric power station.

The Abkhaz have warned representatives of international organizations operating in the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict zone that since the complex situation in the region has now become uncontrollable, the Abkhaz side disclaims responsibility for the safety of their movement on the territory of Abkhazia.

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Head of State Shevardnadze Interviewed

LD2301093895 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0628 GMT 23 Jan 95

[Studio interview with Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Nato Oniani—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Oniani] Good morning. We present a radio interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the Georgian Parliament and head of state.

Batono [polite form of address] Eduard, you will presumably begin our conversation by considering economic problems as usual, and especially because of your official visit to Bulgaria last week. Many agreements, many documents mainly of an economic character were signed there. Also, a very grave situation concerning gas supplies continued last week. Incidentally, rumors are going around that the authorities have cut off the gas supply on purpose to promote the sale of oil products brought to Georgia in large quantities.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you. Good morning. I am not going to have a very detailed conversation about the economy today because the past three days were dedicated to summing up the results of the past year. [passage omitted] It is impossible to deal with all this in a short radio interview. However, I will touch upon certain issues.

First, about gas. Indeed, it is gossip that a hitch in the gas supply has been caused by the necessity to sell gas and so on. The hitch in the gas supply is caused by the difficulties we have already experienced before. Deputy Prime Minister Zurab Kervalishvili is in Turkmenistan at present to have an agreement signed on supplying gas to Georgia during the current year. However, even after the agreement has been signed, difficulties cannot be ruled out in this sphere as this depends not only on Turkmenistan but also on some other countries through which the gas pipeline is passing. You know that this is connected with difficulties.

There is something much more substantial that is causing much graver results. This is a very serious breakdown at the facilities of the TbilSRES [Tbilisi State Rayon Power Station—the major supplier of power to eastern Georgia including Tbilisi], namely at two main aggregates, I can even name the numbers—these are aggregates nine and 10.

I suggest that this is not a mere accident. This is a sort of planned action by a person or persons who gain from instability in the country. Criminal proceedings were already instituted yesterday. Many experts believe that this looks more like a subversive act than a breakdown.

[Oniani] Do you mean yesterday's breakdown?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, yesterday's breakdown. Graver results may be caused by this breakdown than by obstructions in the gas supply. As I have told you investigations have already begun so let us see what we happens. The main task at present is to promptly put into action the aggregates that can be operated and to balance our energy resources.

I cannot rule out a more vigorous use of our neighbors' capacities. We can probably receive more power from Azerbaijan and some other countries. The prime minister as well as appropriate departments of the Cabinet of Ministers are busy considering this issue.

Although this is a complex and grave reality, we have to overcome this. Even if the gas supply is resumed at full-scale, and it certainly will be, we will have to take extraordinary measures to direct the main portion of the imported fuel to our industrial facilities in order for them to resume operation.

Every winter will in effect be as horrible as this unless the industry starts running and the economy is awakened. Otherwise, we will continue to beg for help but we will not always get it.

I believe we all reason in the same way, I mean the whole population and all state figures, and we are all aware that our major goal is to stir up the economy. [passage omitted] We came to the conclusion at the meetings that the current year should become a real turning point in the sphere of economy, I mean industry, agriculture, and other branches of Georgia's economy.

Now, a few words about some of the results of the past week. I mean the issues concerning new beneficial circumstances for integrating into the world economic associations. You know that the past week was notable for signing a package of agreements on economic issues during the head of state's visit to Bulgaria.

The task of implementing agreements and treaties signed at the top level with Ukraine a week before, and earlier with Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, the United States, Germany, France, Turkey, Iran, and other Western and Eastern countries, as well as utilizing beneficial circumstances of economic cooperation has become acute. I became especially aware of this when I was in Bulgaria, when I looked back at what we had done over the past one and a half or two years while preparing the bases for these agreements and how we use our opportunities.

We have very good opportunities. It is especially worth mentioning that the first loans from the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development have already appeared and this gives us a great incentive to invite foreign investors on a greater scale.

This can be promoted by the legislative basis we are creating and expanding gradually and are using in relations with various countries including Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

The decisive role in reviving the economy belongs to searching and fully utilizing local resources. [passage omitted]

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A market economy creates great opportunities and this concerns not only production of wool but also production of fruit. I mentioned several examples yesterday. For instance, thousands, or rather tens of thousands of tonnes of fruit have perished in southern Georgia and the rayons in Kartli only because no one took an initiative to transport it to where there is a demand for the product. The same can be said about citrus fruit, tea, and other products of Georgian agriculture and generally that our economy produces. [passage omitted]

I have repeatedly said and we spoke at the meetings that we have had certain shifts for the better in improving the taxation system. This has yielded especially good results in the fourth quarter of 1994. [passage omitted]

Our population used to have rather nihilistic attitudes toward the customs services because its income would never return to the state's account and, regrettably, would go to where it was not supposed to, that is, to certain persons' pockets. Customs activities over the past two or three months provide us with an opportunity to draw the conclusion that the customs service has immense reserves for the budget. [passage omitted] According to my estimates and the estimates made by the customs service, by implementing only this decree the customs service can recover $5 million for the benefit of the state. [passage omitted]

Uncontrolled activities by inspection structures suppress any interest to produce something Georgia's businessmen and managers of state-owned enterprises display. It has even been said that as soon as smoke appears above an enterprise, controllers file in. I might be exaggerating but entrepreneurs moan and groan because of this uncontrollable inspection system. Therefore, I announced yesterday in my edict that the tax inspectorate should be the only organization to carry out inspections without restrictions. [passage omitted]

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Estonia

President Meri Departs for Switzerland

LD2201180295 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1600 GMT 22 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri departed today for Switzerland for a working visit. He is to meet Swiss Confederation President Kaspar Villiger and Swiss politicians and businessmen. President Meri will deliver a speech entitled "Estonia's Return to Europe" to Swiss bankers and businessmen in Zurich and a speech on aspects of Estonia's security policy to a security forum.

Political Asylum Denied Russian Hijacker

LD2001132395 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1900 GMT 19 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Estonia is not going to provide political asylum to [Russian] hijacker Vladimir Bozhko. This was the decision made by the republican government today. The time and procedure for Bozhko's extradition to Russia will be discussed within the next few days.

Bozhko hijacked an aircraft with 60 passengers, which had flown from Syktyvkar to St. Petersburg on 24 November. Bozhko is currently in a Tallinn psychiatric hospital, where he is undergoing a psychiatric examination.

Adviser Explains Higher Than Expected 1994 Inflation

LD2101195595 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Russian 1645 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the Statistics Department, in 1994 prices on goods and services rose 47.7 percent compared to 1993. Prices of food went up by 34.8 percent, industrial goods by 26.7 percent, and services by 82.2 percent.

Ardo Hansson, adviser to the Estonian Government, said inflation was higher than he anticipated. Hansson said three factors contributed to the acceleration of inflation in 1994: First, abolishing transport and housing subsidies; second, the impact of Russia—the ruble-kroon exchange rate became relatively stable while prices in Russia rose, prompting increased exports to Russia, which in turn brought foreign currency to the Bank of Estonia and increased the emission of kroons into circulation; and third, foreign investment in Estonia rocketed.

Hansson saw more positive than negative aspects in Estonia's fiscal policy. However, the polemics around a possible change of the kroon's exchange rate have unfortunately been noticed abroad, resulting in a negative impact on development of Estonia's economy.

Purifying of Liquid Radioactive Waste Begins

LD2201223895 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Jan 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Purification of liquid radioactive waste has commenced in the Estonian town of Paldiski, where the Russian nuclear center for training submariner officers had been situated. In the underground stores of the former base, 450 tonnes of radioactive dirt has accumulated. According to a mutual agreement between Estonia and Russia, the facility must be dismantled by 30 September 1995. Russian servicemen, dressed as a precautionary measure in civilian clothes, are staying in Paldiski legally.

The most dangerous stage of the job—the removal of the radioactive rods—the Russian servicemen carried out on their own and on time. A Finnish unit was brought to Paldiski for the treatment of the radioactive water. The Finnish Government, by way of aid, has agreed to finance the treatment to the tune of 100,000 U.S. dollars. The work must be finished in four months time, when all the purified water will be released into the Baltic Sea and the filters that were used will be buried. The former base has its own Russian station for purification, which is four times more powerful than the Finnish one.

[Begin Rear Admiral A. Olkhovikov recording] We have the technologies. This station is an old one, but it works. The same methods that are used in the Finnish unit are technologically possible there. [end recording]

The servicemen give two reasons for the Russian station not being used. The official one is the meager military budget. They speak between themselves of an advertising campaign to push forward the Finnish technology in order to get a large order for the Far East.

Latvia

Czech Defense Minister To Present 'Gift' of Arms

LD2201185595 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan arrived in Latvia on 22 January on an official visit. Holan was met at Riga airport by Latvian Defense Minister Janis Arveds Trapans, commander of the National Armed Forces; Juris Dalbins, lieutenant colonel of the Home Guard; Col. Juris Eihmanis, commander of the Home Guard; and other representatives of the Defense Ministry and the National Armed Forces.

The guest will hand over to the Latvian National Armed Forces a gift of new arms worth 2 million Czech korunas. The Latvian defense minister said that the present mostly included anti-tank and antiaircraft guns, mortars, ammunition, and other weapons. During the visit, the guest will meet with Trapans, Dalbins, Prime Minister

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Maris Gailis, and Andris Ligotnis, head of the Saeima Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs.

Noxious Substances at Soviet Airbase Neutralized

WS2301105795 Tallinn BNS in English 1810 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, Jan 20, BNS—The Latvian Armed Force chemical defense company neutralized Friday [20 January] several environmentally hazardous substances in the former Soviet airbase at Lielvarde. The substances basically contained chlorpetrin that may destroy the useful biological environment when getting into sewage and water treatment equipment.

Specialists will find out the level of dangerousness of the substances after what they will be re-processed or destroyed.

Details on Detention of Alleged Russian Spy

WS2001153895 Riga DIENA in Latvian 13 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by Valdis Francs: "Russian Spies Detained"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Riga, 12 Jan — [passage omitted] As DIENA was informed by the press center of the Internal Affairs Ministry, a "Volkswagen Passat" with Russian registration plates was stopped on 21 November 1994, at about 0200, on the Babite-Salaspils highway. One of the passengers, Sergey Yogotin, was armed with a TT pistol. Documents found on him undoubtedly indicated that he was linked to the Russian intelligence service. In addition, Yagotin was carrying a fake document—a former Soviet certificate on his release from prison.

The Security Police is at present in possession of sufficient evidence to state that Russian special services planned to establish a shipping company, for the systematic transport of illegal refugees. Besides, the Police have learned that in case the action would fail they were prepared to explain that the idea of the plan was to lessen the pressure in Russia, created by large masses of refugees in this country, and to prevent development of such a situation in Latvia.

When the above plans did not succeed, the Russian special services by means of their agents began to draw into their activities Latvian criminal structures. As one example, the criminal group of Sergey Kant [name as published] can be mentioned, who organized, by the ship "Code," a transport of 83 refugees to Sweden on 21 July last year. At present, the greater part of the group is detained. The accusation against Kant and his group also includes other serious crimes, such as extortion in an organized group.

It should be noted, that a large part of the refugees are citizens of Afghanistan, who have fought in the Soviet Army, and have been active members of the Afghan Communist Party. [passage omitted]

Working Group Created To Fight Illegal Migration

WS2001161195 Riga DIENA in Latvian 7 Jan 95 pp 1, 6

[Report by Janis Kulmanis: "Discussion on Fighting Illegal Immigration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Riga, 6 Jan — To fight illegal immigration in Latvia, a special working group, which held its first meeting today, issued orders for several state organizations to prepare proposals and complete calculations aimed at resolving the problem of illegal immigration. Maris Riekstins, state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and leader of the working group, reported at a press conference that the Ministry of Justice has been ordered to draft the necessary changes and amendments to the existing law, because at present neither the criminal law nor the civil law foresees a way to charge or punish persons who transport foreign refugees.

Riekstins emphasized that there would be no juridical problems with sending the refugees back to the country they came from (although, it is not always easy to define what country it is). The question is whether Latvia can send them back, being aware of the fate that awaits them there. This is the human aspect of the matter, which is to be resolved in a political way.

The Citizenship and Immigration Department has been entrusted with the task of working out a concrete mechanism on how to implement the order of deportation. The working group also discussed the necessity of concluding agreements with neighboring countries, which would secure that in case it is established from what country the refugee has arrived, it would be possible to return him to that country. So far, Latvia does not have any agreements of this kind with any country.

Also in the note handed over to Russia recently, a proposal was expressed to discuss the possibility of signing such an agreement.

The Finance Ministry, in its turn, was asked to provide an approximate calculation of the cost of supporting a refugee per day, until the moment of his extradition. The same task was also given to the Border Guard.

The working group, which was created in accordance with the order of Prime Minister Maris Gailis, is expected to submit its proposals for resolving the problem of illegal immigration by 15 February. However, Riekstins believes the work will already be finished at the beginning of February.

Referring to the government's decision, taken during the cabinet meeting on Thursday (5 January), to prolong the permission of residence for Russian military pensioners who were due to leave Latvia by 31 August 1994, until May 1995, Riekstins explained that this was done basically for human reasons—as this is the winter and these

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people really have nowhere to live in Russia. At the same time, however, strict rules will be observed asking Russia to submit information containing a precise timetable of the departure of these people from Latvia, in due time.

Lithuania

Brazauskas Meets With Foreign Ambassadors

LD2101101195 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 20 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Algirdas Brazauskas met with the ambassadors of foreign states accredited to Lithuania and the ambassadors to Lithuania residing abroad in Palanga today.

Algirdas Brazauskas thanked the ambassadors for their contribution to the development of bilateral relations with Lithuania. He especially stressed the uniting part played by Apostolic Nuncio Justo Mullor Garcia, dean of the diplomatic corps in Vilnius.

After briefly reviewing the country's political and economic life, Algirdas Brazauskas said that, as president, he attaches special importance to three main tasks: the consolidation of concord and tolerance in society; the elimination of the artificially created antagonism and suspicion; the protection of the weakest without slowing down the speed of the reform and attention to national minorities in Lithuania and beyond its borders.

Lithuania has never lost its European identity and given up the idea of returning to the family of the European states, Algirdas Brazauskas said. The process of our integration into European structures was no less important than its final aim—membership of the European Union, the West European Union, and NATO.

The president expressed the hope that an agreement on associated membership with the European Union will be signed in the first half of this year. Algirdas Brazauskas expressed his concern over the [word indistinct] of the processes of democracy and the free market in Russia, but he hopes that these processes have advanced far enough for them to [word indistinct] of the democratic states. Algirdas Brazauskas said in conclusion: [word indistinct], but I hope that Lithuania, having experienced special upheavals this century, is entering a period of a brighter life. [passage indistinct]

Justo Mullor Garcia, who is the dean of the diplomatic corps in Lithuania, thanked the president on behalf of all ambassadors for the invitation to this meeting [passage omitted]

Supports Membership in 'Eurostructures'

LD2101163695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VILNIUS, Jan. 20 (Interfax)—Lithuania's President Algirdas Brazauskas believes that integration in Eurostructures should get a priority in his country's foreign policy, and the ultimate end of this unity should be membership in the European Union, West European Union, and NATO.

Addressing the ambassadors of a number of states accredited in Lithuania at a meeting in the Lithuanian town of Palanga Friday [20 January] night, Brazauskas voiced hope that Lithuania would sign a treaty on associated membership in the European Union already in the first half of 1995.

As he put it, "the problematic of security is an inseparable part of the process of European integration, and Lithuania's participation in it is obligatory."

Brazauskas also advocated closer cooperation between the Baltic countries and between them and North European states. He said that while promoting ties with Russia and upholding his republic's national interests, Lithuania will be fostering contacts with other CIS nations, above all Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova.

"We regard Russia as our neighbor and partner, but the fate of democracy and free market in that country gives rise for concern," said Brazauskas in connection with the Chechen conflict.

He pointed out that "due to the mass violations of human rights, the war in Chechnya has gone beyond the internal problem of Russia."

"Recognizing Russia's right to territorial integrity, we cannot keep aloof from civilian casualties and tortures and from the fate of democratic reforms in Russia and in CIS as a whole," Brazuskas declared, adding, however, that "the processes of democratization and free market in Russia have advanced so much that if democratic states render support, they (the processes) will become irreversible."

Transportation of Russian Aircraft Bombs Investigated

WS2301104095 Vilnius ELTA in English 1839 GMT 20 Jan 95

[From "News Bulletin" No. 677]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, January 20, ELTA—Faction of the Lithuanian Homeland's Union is going to propose to form the Seimas [parliament] Commission for investigating the truth about the information published in the daily "LIETUVOS AIDAS" concerning transportation of Russian aircraft bombs via Lithuanian territory.

The article published in the "LIETUVOS AIDAS" said that Russian aircraft bombs were transported to the zone of military actions in Chechnya.

Therefore, Lithuanian conservatives made an enquiry about the issue to Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys, but as to conservatives, the answer given by the minister was vague.

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The answer on the issue provided by Chairman of State negotiations commission, Seimas member Virgilijus Bulovas had also failed to satisfy Lithuanian conservatives.

Bulovas said that Russia asked for permission for transporting rockets, not bombs, from the Kaliningrad region to Krasnoyarsk, and the permission was issued to Russia.

At the press conference Seimas member Antanas Stasiskis said that it was necessary to find out who in particular issued the permission for transporting the cargo via Lithuanian territory, what kind of cargo it was and the destination it was transported to.

According to Stasiskis, still there is no reliable information on the issue. Stasiskis said that Lithuanian opposition factions were greatly concerned about loose control of Russia's military transit. According to Stasiskis, Russia must submit an appeal in the form of a diplomatic note to Lithuanian Government every time when it wants to transport cargoes via Lithuania, and only the government is competent to make a decision.

It is necessary to inform Lithuanian public about the movement of Russian cargoes via Lithuanian territory.

Stasiskis said that they were going to discuss these problems during an ordinary meeting with Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, due to take place next week.

Conservatives Object to Russian Military Cargo Transit

LD2001133695 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The conservatives are not satisfied with Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys' replies to questions asked yesterday in parliament and [indistinct passage]

This issue was discussed by the Lithuanian conservatives at a news conference in the Seimas. Guoda Salciute reports:

[Salciute] The faction of the Homeland Union intends to submit to the Seimas a draft decision proposing the formation of a commission to investigate who gave permission to a Russian military train to carry bombs through Lithuanian territory to Chechnya. Did the Lithuanian leaders know what was being transported?

This was stated at a news conference today by a representative of this faction, Antanas Stasiskis. According to him, yesterday's reply by Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys in the Seimas to a question from the conservatives was not satisfactory. Speaking of the issue of military transit as a whole, Antanas Stasiskis noted that, under public pressure, an agreement with Russia on military transit has not been signed, old rules remain in force. However, the public is not familiar with them.

The stand of the conservatives on military transit, according to Stasiskis, is as follows: Each time Russia wishes to transport military cargoes through Lithuania, it should apply to the Lithuanian Government in the form of a diplomatic note. When permission is given, control by the Lithuanian side and armed escort are essential. One more thing, the public must know what is being transported in military transit. If this is implemented, the opposition will have no objections.

Old Stones Cause Train Station Radioactivity

WS2301104195 Tallinn BNS in English 1326 GMT 21 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Jan 21, BNS—Lithuanian experts on Friday began examining one of several radioactive ashlars found at the train station of the western Lithuanian town of Pagegiai. The stones, dating back to the 19th century, emit radiation levels of about four times above normal.

A source of radioactivity at the Pagegiai station was detected Wednesday. Radiation detectors measured a dose rate of 80 microroentgens per hour.

Experts established that radiation is emitted by ashlars brought from Germany at the end of last century and used to cobble one of the passages from the station to the tracks.

Lithuanian Environmental Protection Ministry officials told BNS that the ashlars are about 15 cm long, made of black stone. It is supposed that they emitted low-radiation levels ever since they were brought to Lithuania. Experts do not rule out the possibility that radioactivity appeared as a result of atmospheric effects.

The level of radiation at a distance of one meter from the stones is about 40 microroentgnes per hour. Experts say the amount is not very hazardous to health, especially if exposure is short-term.

Authorities intend to cover the radioactive ashlars with a layer of concrete. Other measures will be considered if radiation cannot be stopped in such way, official said.

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